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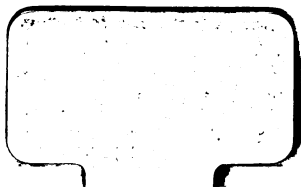
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THE  
L I F E  
OF  
E R A S M U S.

---

BY THE LATE REVEREND  
JOHN JORTIN, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF LONDON, RECTOR OF ST. DUNSTAN'S IN THE EAST,  
AND VICAR OF KENSINGTON.

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*Ego nullius obscuro gloriam, nullius obsto commodis, nullius obstrepo studiis; non  
ambio dignitates, non venor quæstum; sed qualecunque talentulum meum in  
commune profero. Cui mea non placent, liberum est abstinere.*

ERASMUS.

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VOL. II.  
FROM A. D. 1530 TO A. D. 1536;  
AND  
REMARKS ON THE WORKS OF ERASMUS.

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1808.



THE  
LIFE OF ERASMUS.

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A. D. MDXXX.

ÆTAT. LXiii.

THIS year Erasmus was busied in translating divers treatises of St. Chrysostom, and in exhorting his learned friends to do the like, that a complete edition might afterwards be published of the works of this father in Greek and Latin. He also wrote long letters to Tonstal and to Sadolet, wherein he defends himself, and vigorously attacks his old enemies. When he writes to the Romanists, he often seems to favour the Protestants; and when he writes against these, he appears zealous for the doctrines of the Roman church. Yet it should seem probable that his true sentiments were those in defence of which he got no profit, and by declaring which he incurred the dislike of the Romish party, from which he was not willing to separate himself. Ep. 1091, 1092, 1093, 1094.

To the bishop of Hildesheim he dedicated one Algerus<sup>a</sup>; a Benedictin monk of the twelfth century, who wrote on the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ against Berenger. Erasmus says that by the perusal of this book he had been confirmed in the opinion of a real presence. It would, I believe, produce the quite contrary effect upon others; and it is not to be forgotten that Erasmus could have easily embraced the sentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius, if his mother the church would have given him leave. Accordingly he was suspected of not having quite

<sup>a</sup> Val. Andree Bibl. Belg. p. 133. Maittaire, ii. 732.

so much implicit faith as he talked of, as it appears in other epistles. Ep. 1095.

In a letter to Tonal he declares his opinion, that, in the primitive times, the faithful used sometimes to consecrate bread and wine, and communicate together without a presbyter to perform the office. Rigaltius<sup>c</sup> and Grotius adopted this opinion, which gave occasion to a dispute. Ep. 1092.

To the remarks which we have made upon Tonal, in p. 97, &c. let us add these ;

‘ Now were committed (A. 1529) unto archbishop Parker’s custody divers Popish bishops, as Cuthbert Tonal, bishop of Durham, having been deprived in July, who died in the archbishop’s house at Lambeth, in November following, being eighty-five years of age. But before his death, by the archbishop’s means, he was brought off from papistical fancies. And he declared it his judgment, that the pope’s too far distended power ought to be restrained within his own diocese of Rome. Letters to which purpose he had long before written to cardinal Pole. Unto which mind he now returned again, after his compliance with the pope under queen Mary. And not above fourteen days before his death, while he lived with the archbishop, he testified to him and to others those letters to Pole to be his.—Tonal also allowed of the marriage of priests, as permitted by the word of God. To all which I may add his judgment in point of justification, which was according to the doctrine of the Reformed,’ &c. Strype’s Life of Parker, b. i. ch. 10.

In a letter to the bishop of Augsburg, Erasmus complains much of a boil on his navel, which grievously incommoded him. Speaking of his best patron Warham, who was then fourscore years old, he says to this bishop ; If he dies, you must supply his place. My two pensions from England produce about two hundred florins yearly ; but this money comes to my hands greatly diminished by the merchants who remit it, and sometimes detain a fourth part. At other times other persons curtail it. If the archbishop should die, I shall never see a penny more of it. There is a man (Petrus Barbirius) to whom I could have trusted all things, even my own life, who hath begun to intercept the pension which

<sup>c</sup> See Bibl. Univ. i. 133, 134. iv. 94.

I have in Flanders from a prebend which I resigned. During my absence the emperor pays me nothing, and hardly would he give me any thing, though I were to go to Brabant, notwithstanding all the fine promises with which they feed me. Thus Erasmus will soon be reduced to a state of evangelical poverty; though, by the blessing of God, he is not altogether in that condition as yet. Epist. 1112. 1117.

In a letter to George of Saxony<sup>d</sup> he inveighs bitterly against Luther for having very roughly attacked that prince, with whom Luther had great altercations. Ep. 1113.

He mentions Trapezuntius<sup>e</sup> amongst learned men. He hath also commended Bessarion<sup>f</sup> in some other place. Ep. 1100.

He lived at Friburg<sup>g</sup> upon very good terms with the Franciscans, who dwelt so near him, that he could sing along with them in his chamber, without going to church.

To Melanchthon he says; God alone, my dear Philip, can unravel the intricate plot of the tragedy which is now acting. Ten councils assembled together could not do it, much less can such an one as I. If a man says a reasonable thing, it is straightway called Lutheranism, and this is all his recompense. He makes the same remarks elsewhere; and yet he flattered the party that acted in this outrageous manner, and fell foul upon the Evangelics, as in a reply to the ministers of Stratsburg, in the last tome of his works, which he addresseth to the brethren of the Lower Germany and of East Friesland. It is the work of a man who was in a passion, because he had been censured for inconstancy and want of courage. Ep. 1117. 1119.

He dedicated his Christian Widow to Mary<sup>h</sup> queen-dowager of Hungary, who wrote him a letter of thanks with her

<sup>d</sup> See Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 149.

<sup>e</sup> Hodius De Græc. Illustr. 102, &c. Huetius De Clar. Interpr. p. 238.

<sup>f</sup> Hodius, p. 136. Huetius, p. 237.

<sup>g</sup> Hic Franciscanos habeo tam vicinos, ut in cubiculo audiam canentes, perinde ac si essem in templo. Summa est inter nos amicitia, quia nulla est inter eos malitia. Habent concionatorem probum ac modestum, qui Erasmus interdum etiam honorifice citat in concionibus. Ep. 1102.

<sup>h</sup> Bayle, *Hongrie (Marie, Reine de)*. See also Gerdes. ii. 176.

own hand. Erasmus was not entirely satisfied<sup>l</sup> with his performance upon this subject. Ep 1123.

Melanchthon sent him a letter from Augsburg, where the diet was held, and where he presented the confession of faith of the Lutherans, which afterwards took its denomination from that city. He prays Erasmus to continue the charitable office of exhorting the emperor to moderation. Erasmus replied with some peevishness and resentment, saying, that he would not concern himself in behalf of the Evangelics. However, he was better than his word<sup>k</sup>, and did write to cardinal Campegius, desiring him to dissuade the emperor from making a religious war. Ep. 1125, 1126, 1129.

He returns thanks to Rinckius<sup>l</sup>, who had sent him a cup. He received also a handsome present<sup>m</sup> from Conrad bishop

<sup>l</sup> Mitto simul Viduam Christianam, quam rogatus dicavi Mariæ Cæsaris germanæ, quondam Hungariæ reginæ. In hoc argumento mihi non admodum placeo, quod nec simplex videatur, nec admodum congruens puellæ, quæ, ni fallor, alitur conjugio. Verbis tamen explevi chartas. Ep. 1024.

<sup>k</sup> See Seckendorf, l. ii. p. 196, &c.

<sup>l</sup> Etiam si tam vile fuisset munusculum, quam illud tua facit modestia, tamen animus iste tam aureus ac gemmeus, et epistola nihil spirans nisi meros amores, poterat illud ita commendare, ut pro quamvis magno acciperetur. Nunc quum tale sit, ut vel a rege non indecore donari potuerit, tamen quæ tua modestia est, rogas ut boni consulam. Mihi potius rogandus eras, ut libellum extempore fusum, ac velut abortu ejectum, boni consuleres. Sed in hac parte video mihi rem esse cum *Hercule*, quem in tuo poculo conspicio: quam enim ille viribus et clava fuit invictus, tam Rinckius officii aut beneficii superari non potest. Nec male quadrat in te *aquilæ* symbolum, quod habet tuus clypeus. Nemo tam velox esse queat ad bene merendum, quem tu non prævoles. Solus animus mutuus mihi sufficiebat. Epistola tam amica magni muneris loco esse poterat. At his non contenta, tua benignitas addidit poculum et opere et pretio non vulgare. Do manus Herculi, nec contendam ultro, nisi hoc solum, ne videar amando inferior. Ep. 1124.

<sup>m</sup> —Nec sufficit animo isti tuo munus qualecunque, sed plane regium donare voluisti, magis reputans quid te deceret dare, quam quid Erasmus accipere. Auget doni pretium, quod nec promerito, nec ambienti, ac ne exspectanti quidem ultro detulerit tuæ benignitas.—Scribit Homerus non esse rejicienda deorum munera; ego vero talium principum spontanea dona, ceu sacra quædam monumenta apud me libenter servo, ac veluti pro testimoniis ostendo, quibus me non mediocriter ornatum arbitror. Iisdem interdum me ipsum consolor adversus quorundam inauspicatissimorum hominum pravitatem, qui nec de benemeritis bene loqui

of Wirceburg. To this bishop he warmly recommends<sup>n</sup> a young friend, Daniel Stibarus<sup>o</sup>, to whom he gives an excellent character.

He published as many of the works of Chrysostom as he could collect, and dedicated them to Stadius, the bishop of Augsburg. He also gave a pretty accurate life of this father<sup>p</sup>, taken from the *Historia Tripartita*, Palladius, and Theodorus Diaconus. In this Life of Chrysostom, Erasmus hath let us know that he had little faith<sup>q</sup> in the miracles<sup>r</sup> of the fifth century, and in those ascribed to Epiphanius. Ep. 1150.

He dedicated a translation of Xenophon's *Hiero* to Antonius Fuggerus, who returned him thanks. Ep. 355. c. 1744; and Ep. 357. c. 1746.

Andreas Critius, who is called *Episcopus Plocensis*, sent him a ring with a ruby<sup>s</sup>: and his friend Olahus made him a present of a spoon and a fork. Ep. 1142.

Ep. 1103 is remarkable<sup>t</sup>, as it gives an account of the great

*possunt, nec his benefacere a quibus beneficentia sunt provocati.* Ep. 1127.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. 1107.

<sup>o</sup> Melchior Adam.

<sup>p</sup> Chrysostome, le meilleur des peres Grecs.—C'a esté un orgueilleux villain. Falloit-il faire ce qu'il a fait? Il a esté banni, & avec raison. *Infinita pulchra habet et optima in Novum Testamentum.* Scaligeran. p. 92.

<sup>q</sup> Jam ut miracula recipiamus, de eo qui se mortuum simulavit, pau-  
loque post vere mortuus repertus est; quod ad Epiphanium atinet, nul-  
lum erat miraculum.—Et potuit esse *σύμπτωμα*.—Sed ad illius monu-  
mentum pellebantur, ut fertur, dæmones. Id magis arguit fidem vivo-  
rum, quam merita defunctorum, ut ne quid hic tribuamus impiorum spi-  
rituum præstigiis, utque demus esse vera quæ memorantur: nam mo-  
nachorum genus, et simplex hominum vulgus hoc genus fabulis solet im-  
pensis indulgere. c. 1337.

<sup>r</sup> Putaverunt veteres se posse regnum Dei provehere mendaciis et falsis miraculis, in quo graviter errarunt. Scaligeran. p. 263.

<sup>s</sup> Porro quod Martinus anulum quoque reddidit celsitudinis tuæ munus, vereor ne ille immodico quodam mei studio dixerit aliquid, quod illi non mandaram. Mihi quidem symbolum fausti cujusdam ominis visum est, et vel hoc nomine fuit gratissimum, quod ad tui imitationem me provocat. Anulus aureus gemmam habebat figura cordis, colore rutilo. Quid amplius optare possis homini Christiano, quam ut cor habeat sapientia illustre, charitate igneum? Ep. 1132.

<sup>t</sup> Cæterum, ab ignotis ac semotis accipere literas adeo mihi novam non est, ut pene sit quotidianum: a doctis, a magnatibus, ab episcopis, ab abbatibus, quos ego natos non noveram, sabinde veniunt literæ: a regibus, a principibus, ac præsulibus ea dignitate, ut nulli possint esse ignoti, non

civilities and liberalities which he received from his illustrious patrons; amongst whom Francis I promised him preferment, if he would come to his court; but did not make him any present, though he was a liberal prince.

He says to Sadolet, to Campegius, to Alciat, and to others, that Albertus Pius, instigated by Aleander, was busy in writing against him; and he represents them as two men united together by their bad qualities. He adds, that Albertus was assisted, in point of style, by Sepulveda. He also defends himself largely, as to Budæus, in a letter to their

tantum literæ veniunt, sed etiam splendida munera. A Cæsare Carolo multas habeo epistolas tam honorifice, tam amanter scriptas, ut eas pluri faciam quam illius in me benignitatem, cui tamen bonam fortunæ partem debeo. A rege Ferdinando, nec minus crebras, nec minus amicas, non sine munere honorario. A rege Galliæ quoties quam amplis conditionibus invitatus sum! Rex Angliæ et crebris literis ac muneribus ultro missis, declarat favorem ac benevolentiam in me singularem. Nec illi facile cedit forminarum, quas hæc ætas habet, optima, Catharina illius regina. Rex Poloniæ Sigismundus misit epistolam, cum ipso munere vere regio certantem. Dux Saxonie Georgius crebris me literis appellat, *ὄν ἀδωπος καὶ αὐτός*. Quid memorem Gulielmum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, quid Cuthbertum nuper episcopum Londinensem, nunc Durnelmensem, quid Joannem episcopum Lincolnensem, qui, præter epistolas omnibus gemmis pretiosiores, quotannis veluti tributum amicitiae mittunt nec petenti nec expectanti? Ab Alberto cardinale Moguntino habeo præter literas egregium benevolentis animi monumentum, quemadmodum et a Philippo a Burgundia episcopo Trajectino nuper vita defuncto, item a Joanne card. Lotharingiæ fratre ducis. Bernardus episcopus et card. Tridentinus, præter honorarium munus, idque non exiguum, crebro misit literas tam amicas, adeoque solatii plenas, ut quamvis dejectum animum possint erigere, amplissimis insuper conditionibus invitans ad convictum, a quo et hodie literas accepi eadem pollicentes quas olim detulit, ac fortassis, ut nunc res sunt, utar illius oblati. Archiepiscopi Toletani ad me literas jam excusas arbitror te vidisse: quid his fingi, quid optari potest amantius aut honorificentius? Nec defuit illius vel fortuna vel animo digna benignitas. Nuper Gulielmus princeps dux junior Clivensis ac Juliacensis, adolescens virtuti natus, scripsit literas amoris plenas, addito poculo magnifico. Antonius Fuggerus simul atque sensisset me Basileæ moliri abitum, misit viaticum centum flor. aureorum, pollicens in singulos annos tantundem et amplius, si vellem Augustam me recipere. Ubi respondi id mihi non esse commodum, misit poculum in primis elegans, pignus in itæ inter nos amicitiae. Ante paucos dies Christophorus a Stadio episcopus Augustensis, vir tum nobilitate tum apprime doctus, itinere septem dierum, nec eo satis tuto, huc se contulit non ob aliud, quemadmodum ipse prædicabat, nisi ut videret Erasmus, videlicet hominis umbram. Candorem illius prædico, non mea merita: attulit secum duo pocula regia, cum ducentis flor. aureis, deferens insuper omnium facultatum suarum communionem. Dum hæc



common friend Brixius. Ep. 1094. 1132. 1135. 1137: 1148.

He bestows great and just commendations on Gibertus<sup>u</sup> bishop of Verona, who had given<sup>x</sup> the public, at his own expense, an edition of Chrysostom's Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles. Donatus wrote a dedication of it to Clemens VII, A. 1529.

He observes of Franciscus Aretinus<sup>y</sup>, that he had translated some pieces of Chrysostom very poorly.

He received a friendly letter from Alciat, who exhorted him to take no further notice of his adversaries, and not to

scribo, veniunt literæ a Jacobo Sadoletto Carpenteractensi, Deum immortalẽ, qua doctrina, qua morum integritate, qua auctoritate viro ! Solitus est et ante subinde nos doctissimis epistolis appellare. Exciderat ille, nisi epistola forte tum reddita commonuisset. Nec dubito quin plures nunc non veniant in mentem. Venit interim in mentem Petrus episcopus Cracoviensis, vir summa doctrina parique auctoritate, ejus regis cancellarius, qui suam erga me pietatem et literis amantissime scriptis, et magnificis donariis declaravit. In eadem Colonia est Andreas Critius episcopus Plocensis, qui me frequenter et humanissimis literis et eruditissimis carminibus recreat excitatque, ne hic quidem ἀδωρος. Habeo cubiculum epistolis differtum ab eruditis, a magnatibus, a principibus, a regibus, a cardinalibus, ab episcopis: habeo scrinium plenum donariis poculorum, lagenarum, cochleariorum, horologiorum, quorum aliquot ex puro sunt auro; anulorum magnus est numerus, omnium autem major longe futurus, nisi pleraque donata redonarem aliis studia provehentibus. Et in his, qui hæc donant, sunt multi non doctrina modo, sed et vitæ sanctimonie præstantes, velut archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, episcopus Londinensis, episcopus Augustensis; et in primis Joannes episcopus Roffensis, qui fugerat, quemadmodum fugerat et episcopus Uratislaviensis Joannes Turzo, qui miserat scrinium rebus elegantissimis refertum Antuerpianam, ubi tum agebam, quum ego nunquam audissem aut somniassem Uratislaviam aut Turzonem. In hujus locum successit frater, episcopus Olmucensis. Et indes accrescit talium numerus, quum ego nullius benignitatem invitaram, ingenue præ me ferens mihi satis esse facultatum ad hæc vitæ sobrietatem, cujus adeo me non pœnitet, ut citius sim aliquid detracturus quam additurus. Et tamen tanta est ultronea illorum liberalitas, ut si nulli sint reditus (sunt autem etiam præter Cæsaream pensionem aliquot) hæc sola meis studiis alendis sufficeret. Mediocrum dona semper rejeci, quoties licuit incolumi amicitia: aut sic accipi; civilitatis gratia, ut abunde pensarim. Ep. 1103.

<sup>u</sup> Maittaire, ii. 391.

<sup>x</sup> Præsuli isti Veronensi bene faxint omnes superi, qui de privato suo curat utilitatem publicam, suisque impensis tam insigne beneficium parat studiosis omnibus. *Utinam* hoc exemplum æmulentur abbates et episcopi nostri prædivites, &c. Ep. 1135.

It is a good *utinam*, to which all the learned will say *amen*.

<sup>y</sup> Bayle Dict. *Aretin*.

honour them and vex himself with replies. The advice was good, and Erasmus seemed to stand in some need of it, Ep. 1143.

Eckius, the divine, wrote him a letter very saucy and impertinent, and full of theological pride, which Erasmus treats as it deserved, in one to Cholerus. Ep. 1141. 1146.

He complains<sup>a</sup>, that his bad health obliged him to a behaviour seemingly rude, to persons of the highest rank, who condescended to visit him.

He makes mention here of a Romish saint, who was his namesake; and he hath, if I am not mistaken, spoken of him elsewhere. The saint is not so well known as the scholar. Tillemont<sup>a</sup> hath very honestly informed us, that the old accounts concerning saint Erasmus are superlatively bad, and highly improbable. Ribadeneira, as I remember, amongst other lives of saints, hath drawn up that of saint Erasmus, which is a short one, but contains as many foolish lies as could handsomely be crowded into so small a compass. This saint is supposed to have suffered about the beginning of the fourth century.

He relates cardinal Wolsey's<sup>b</sup> fall, and gives him no good character.

<sup>a</sup> Verum hæc valetudo me cogit, ut in totum ab hoc officiorum genere temperem, adeo ut quum nuper huc venisset Christophorus a Stadio episcopus Augustensis, vir non solum natalium imaginibus illustrissimus, verum etiam eruditione exacta, cæterisque episcopo dignis virtutibus ornatissimus, non ob aliud, nisi ut videret Erasmum, adferens secum munus honorarium, quod non indecorum fuisset quamvis potenti regi dare magnati, multo frigidius hominem acceperim quam Mallarium, quippe quem nec ad convivium, nec ad poculum invitarim, nec sæpius quam bis mei conveniendi copiam fecerim. Odi ego hanc non inhumanitatem, sed inhumanitatis speciem. Verum aut hoc ferendum incommodum est, aut negligenda vita. Interdum forticulus conor agere bellum hominem, sed mox præsto est Ate. Ep. 1147.

<sup>a</sup> See Tillemont, H. E. t. v. p. 127. 636.

<sup>b</sup> Cardinalis Eboracensis sic offendit animum regium, ut spoliatus bonis et omni dignitate, teneatur, non in carcere, sed in quodam ipsius prædio, adhibitis triginta duntaxat seu famulis seu custodibus. Proferruntur in illum querelæ innumeræ, ut vix existiment effugere posse capitis supplicium. Hic est Fortunæ ludus; ex ludimagistro subvectus est ad regnum; nam plane regnabat verius quam ipse rex, metuebatur ab omnibus, amabatur a paucis, ne dicam a nemine. Paucis ante diebus quam caperetur, curaverat Richardum Pacæum conjiciendum in carcerem, ac minitabatur etiam meo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi. Ante ruinam exaltantur spiritus, ait Solomon. Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis

From a letter of Zasius, it should seem that Eppendorf<sup>c</sup> threatened to prosecute Erasmus at Friburg; and Zasius, with the zeal of a friend, and the spirit of a lawyer, declares that he would plead the cause of Erasmus, and treat the rascal as he deserved, if he dared to proceed, and to open his mouth, or show his face at Friburg.

Erasmus mentions Hervagius<sup>d</sup>, who married Froben's widow, and carried on the business of the press at Basil, and gives him a good character. Ep. 1149.

The sweating sickness<sup>e</sup> raged this year in Germany, amongst other calamities. And the affairs of the poor Protestants were so bad, in all appearance, that Melancthon<sup>f</sup> was quite dejected, and overwhelmed with sorrow. Luther, who had more courage, wrote him many excellent letters of consolation.

Erasmus wrote a letter to Joan. Alex. Brassicanus<sup>g</sup>, who had published a book of Adages, and had made some apology to him for undertaking that subject. Erasmus had no great esteem for his performance<sup>h</sup>. This man had once

vocatus, imo revocatus est ad cancellarii munus, quo non aliud in Anglia majus: sed is excusavit ætatem, jam imparem tanto negotio. Itaque provincia delegata est Thomæ Moro, magno omnium applausu, nec minore bonorum omnium lætitiâ subvectus, quam dejectus cardinalis. Ep. 1151.

<sup>c</sup> Vale; et qui tibi minitur, se intenturum formulam injuriarum, ne time. Veniat, si saltem venire ausit, et Zasium experietur advocatum tuum in suam perniciem. Friburgi es, non Basileæ, sub principe es justissimo; caveat adversarius tuus, ne hiscat quidem. Ep. 360. c. 1748.

<sup>d</sup> Baillet, i. 382. Maittaire, ii. 359.

<sup>e</sup> Nusquam pax, nullum iter tutum est, rerum caritate, penuria, fame, pestilentia laboratur ubique, sectis dissecta sunt omnia: ad tantam malorum Lernam accessit lethalis sudor, multos intra horas octo tollens e medio, et crebro quos reliquit brevi intervallo repetens, nec id semel, sed bis, ter, quater, donec in hydropem aut epidemiam, aut aliud morbi genus versus, tandem extinguat miseris excarnificatum modis. Ep. 1149.

<sup>f</sup> Sleidan, l. vii. 186.

<sup>g</sup> Brassicanus was of the Lutheran party. See *Amœnitates Literar.* tom. i. p. 298. 306.

Erasmus did Brassicanus the honour to make him a speaker in that excellent dialogue, wherein Reuchlin is canonized.

<sup>h</sup> Brassicanus aut concepit irritas iras, aut pudore obrutus est. Jactarat non deesse quod colligeretur post Erasmum, quum triginta fere proberbia sumserit ex meis. Desiit ad me scribere, quod facile fero. Nihil enim illius epistolis stomachantius, et convitiis admiscebat tam blanda, ut aliquoties desiderarim in eo sobriam mentem. Ep. 372. c. 1757.

asked Erasmus, what he should do, to become a good scholar ; and Erasmus, in answer, gave him an advice<sup>l</sup>, of which he seemed to stand in need. Ep. 1108.

One Ludovicus Carvajalus wrote a foolish thing against Erasmus, who replied to it : and Carvajalus renewed<sup>k</sup> the attack. Ep. 1104.

A. D. MDXXXI.

ÆTAT. LXIV.

Some persons had been desirous that Erasmus should repair to the diet of Augsburg : but he excuseth himself<sup>l</sup>.

I could not have gone (says he) without running the risque of my life ; and therefore I chose rather to live. I knew very well that if I went there, I should bring mischief upon my own head, without being able to compose the dissensions and tumults. I also knew upon whose judgment the emperor relied ; upon divines, in whose opinion whosoever shall dare to open his mouth in favour of piety is a Lutheran, and worse than a Lutheran. I am by nature void of dissimulation, and somewhat free of speech. If I had suited myself to the passions of certain people, I must have said many things against my own conscience. So I have some obligations to my bad state of health, which furnisheth me with a plea for absence. Ep. 1152.

To John More, son of sir Thomas, he dedicated the Works of Aristotle, printed in Greek by Froben's heirs ; and to Charles, son to lord William Montjoy, the History of Livy<sup>m</sup>, augmented with five books which had not been printed before. They were discovered by Simon Grynæus

<sup>l</sup> Brassicanus rogavit Erasmum, qua ratione doctus posset fieri. Respondit ex tempore ; Si doctis assidue conviveret ; si doctos audiret non minus submissee quam honorifice ; si doctos strenue legeret ; si doctos diligenter edisceret ; denique, si se doctum numquam putaret. Centur. Epist. Goldasti. Ep. 44. p. 169.

<sup>k</sup> Dulcoratio amarulentiarum Erasmicæ responsionis ad apologiam fratris Lodovici Carvajali ab eodem Lodovico edita. Maittaire, ii. 495.

<sup>l</sup> He might have said with Sallust :

Scio ego, quam difficile atque asperum factu sit consilium dare regi, aut imperatori, postremo cuiquam mortali, cujus opes in excelso sunt : quippe cum et illis consultorum copię adsint : neque de futuro quisquam satis callidus, satsique prudens sit. Quinetiam sæpe prava magis, quam bona consilia prospere eveniunt : quia plerasque res fortuna ex lubrico sua agit. Sallustius, Orat. ii. ad Cæs.

<sup>m</sup> See Fabricius, Bibl. Lat. tom. i. p. 196.

in a manuscript<sup>n</sup> belonging to the monastery of Lorse. Ep. 1159, 1160.

In Ep. 1159, Erasmus bestows many commendations on **Bebelius**, the printer. See **Maittaire**, ii. 342, &c.

He again gives an account of the sweating sickness<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> Visum est tuo nomini dicare Titum Livium—quinque libris modo repertis auctum; quos bono quodam genio in bibliotheca monasterii Laurisseni, aut, ut vulgo, Lorsensis, reperit Simon Grynæus, vir ut in omni genere literarum citra supercilium eruditus, ita provehendis liberalibus studiis natus. Id autem monasterium est e regione Wormaciæ, sive Borbetomagi trans Rhenum, a Carolo Magno septingentis abhinc annis et eo amplius exstructum, ac librorum copiosissima supellectile instructum: nam hæc olim præcipua cura principum fuit, et hic solet esse charissimus cœnobiorum thesaurus. Archetypum erat admirandæ vetustatis, prisco more perpetua literarum serie ita depictum, ut difficillimum fuerit verbum a verbo dirimere, nisi docto, attento, et in hoc ipsum exercitato. Unde non parum negotii fuit in parando exemplari, quod typographicis operis traderetur utendum. Nec minore cura quam fide advigilatum est, ne usquam in describendo ab archetypo recederetur. Quod si pridem magna studiosorum gratulatione merito exceptum est qualecunque fragmentum, quod nobis dedit Moguntia; quanto plausu excipi par est tantam Livianæ historiæ accessionem? Atque utinam faxit Deus Opt. Max. ut hic auctor totus et integer nobis restituatur. Ejus rei spem nonnullam præbent rumores per ora quorundam volitantes; dum hic apud Danos, ille apud Polonos, alius apud Germanos, haberi Liviana quædam nondum edita jacit. Certe posteaquam hæc reliquias præter omnium spem objecit fortuna, non video cur desperemus et plura posse contingere. Atque hic mea quidem sententia principes viri rem se dignam facerent, si præmiis propositis, eruditos ad pervestigandum tantum thesaurum sollicitarent, aut etiam ad editionem perpellerent: si qui forte sunt, qui rem publicæ utilitati paratam gravi studiorum jactura premunt abduntque. Vehementer enim absurdum videtur, homines ut parum auri argenteve inveniant, tantis impendiis tantisque periculis ad ipsos pene inferos terræ viscera perfodere; et hujusmodi thesauros tanto illis pretiosiores, quanto corpore præstantior est animus, prorsus negligere, nec ulla vestigatione dignos judicare. Midarum hic animus est, non principum. Ep. 1160.

L'edition de Tite Live de Froben est assez bonne; mais Sigonius y a bien corrigé. C'est grand cas qu' Erasme a trouvé cinq livres de Livius, & celui qui les a décrits, ne les a sceu lire. On a cherché toutes les bibliothèques de la Chrestienté, il n'y a plus rien. Scaligeran. p. 246.

De tempore quo versiones suas confecit Argyropylyus mire fallitur Erasmus, quam in Præfatione (i. e. Epist. 1159) ait illum eas confecisse, postquam ab Aldo Opera Aristotelis fuissent edita: h. e. post an. MDXCV. (read MCCCXCV) &c. Hodius De Græc. Illust. p. 208.

Aldus, as Fabricius informs us, published a Greek edition of Aristotle, A. 1498, which was become very scarce even in the days of Erasmus.

<sup>o</sup> Nova lues, jam olim uni Britanniæ peculiaris subito se sparsit per universas nationes; atque initio quoniam malum erat subitum et horrendum, videlicet intra horas viginti quatuor, sæpe pauciores, exanimans

He writes a letter of excuse to the poet Eobanus Hessus, who took it ill that he was not mentioned and complimented in the Ciceronianus. Eobanus had translated Theocritus, and was about Homer, on which undertakings Erasmus makes some just observations<sup>p</sup>. The translating of poets into other languages, and into verse, seems to be an occupation beneath a good poet, a work in which there is much labour, and little honour. The translator perhaps will reply, 'I want to get money.' Why then, go on, and good luck attend you!

Ep. 1158, and Ep. 368, c. 1752, are to Petrus Castellanus<sup>q</sup>, a young Frenchman. Castellanus in his younger days went to Basil to converse with Erasmus, who recommended him to Froben for an assister; and he was of great service in correcting not only errors of the press, but even some errors of Erasmus himself<sup>r</sup>. After this he was a great favourite of Francis I, who made him a bishop. He had as bad<sup>s</sup> an opinion of the court of Rome as Erasmus and Lu-

quem invaserat, animos omnium terrore perculit, adeo ut multis metus et imaginatio morbum conciliarit: corripuit plurimos, pauciores tamen extinxit quam solet jam nimium orbi nota epidemia; mox nulli fere periere, nisi per imperitiam medicorum, aut neglectam ægroti curam, Ep. 1154.

<sup>p</sup> Quod Theocritum reddidisti Latino carmine, miror si Siculam illam Venerem assecutus es. Homerum opinor experiris tractabiliorem: in utroque tamen argumento vereor ut fama labori respondeat. Ep. 1164.

<sup>q</sup> Bayle, *Castellan*. Gallandius, Vit. Castellani. Bayle, *Augustin*, not. G. Sammarthani Elog. l. i. p. 27. Maittaire, i. 291. ii. 454. Hist. Steph. 144, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Hic juvenis Erasmicæ gloriæ æmulatione, et ejus salsis in ingenia Gallica, quibus parum in literis tribuebat, cavillationibus incensus, noctes et dies in Græcarum literarum, theologiæque atque omnis humanioris doctrinæ commentatione ita versabatur, ut Erasmum satis præcipitanter commentantem, et e Græco non probe intellecta in Latinum sermonem male vertentem, frequenter suorum erratorum admoneret. Quæ ille, qui plurimum Castellani opera uteretur, cum agnoscere atque emendare ejus admonitu cogeretur, plurimum illi tribuebat atque deferebat. Memini Castellani mihi frequenter dicere Erasmum in literis Græcis supra vulgus tum parum promovisse, in auctoribus qui ab usu communi remoti essent insigniter hæsitavisse. Itaque quæ ex illis vertebat aut commentabatur, majore ex parte adjuvantibus doctis, qui ei hanc operam navabant, præstitisse. Gallandius, Vit. Cast.

<sup>s</sup> Memini eum aliquando, cum pontificum Romanorum supinas libidines, avaritiam, et rapacitatem, religionis contemtum, superbiamque cardinalium, luxum et ignaviam, nundinationesque, cauponationes, et

ther, and had contracted it, not from hear-says, but from his own observation. He was a sort of free-thinker, as to popery, and this disposition he might perhaps have caught from conversing with his friend Erasmus: but he was for maintaining the Catholic religion, and for keeping the Reformed undermost; for which they hated him, as an ambitious hypocrite, and represented his death as a divine judgment'. So Beza, H. Stephanus, D'Aubigné, and other good Protestants thought about it. Erasmus had a singular love and esteem for Castellanus, and writes to him in a most affectionate manner, and wishes him either a good wife, or a good bishopric. The latter happened to be his lot. Castellanus<sup>u</sup> was also of the same opinion with Erasmus, in preferring Jerom very much to Augustin, and in having no great esteem for the latter; and possibly his friend Erasmus had some share in leading him into this sentiment.

Francis I, discoursing one day familiarly with Castellanus,

*flagitia reliqua aulicorum Romanensium describeret, et cætera quæ tunc vidisset commemoraret, ita animo concitari et indignatione commoveri consuevisse, ut ei non modo in facie color, sed et toto corpore gestus motusque immutarentur; ut etiam mihi frequenter diceret sibi esse persuasissimum ne pontifices quidem Romanos religionis et sacrorum antistites, tot suis suorumque flagitiis sceleribusque contaminatos, vere et ex animo Christum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis causa, veluti larva ad fallendum apposita, egregie simulare. Gallandius.*

Ego (says Luther) Romæ non diu fui, ibi celebravi ipse, et vidi celebrari aliquot missas, sed ita, ut quoties recordor, execrer illas. Nam super mensam, inter alia, audivi curtisanos quosdam ridendo gloriari, nonnullos in ara super panem et vinum hæc verba pronunciare, 'Panis es, panis manebis: vinum es, vinum manebis.' De hac profectioe in colloquiis familiaribus sæpe est sibi gratulatus Lutherus; dixitque mille florenis se eam non commutaturum. Melch. Adam, Vit. Luth. p. 49.

<sup>t</sup> Bayle, not. Q.

<sup>u</sup> E Latinis (patribus) divum Hieronymum plurimi faciebat, non modo quod cæteris eloquentior esset, verum etiam quod omnibus artium liberalium scientia facile antiret. Nam ut divum Augustinum contra hæreticos de hominis Christiani justificatione disputando proxime ad divi Pauli sententiam accessisse fatebatur, ita linguarum ignoratione somniasse frequenter atque etiam delirasse sacra explicando asseverabat; eumque bonarum artium magis non ignorans quam peritus dici posset, non sat idoneum esse judicabat cui de artibus disserenti legendo tempus ab eo transmitteretur qui minime otio abundaret. Eam quoque styli Augustiniani anfractuosam sinuositatem esse et sermonis omni elegantia vacui impuritatem addebat, ut ab homine liberis in literis educato citra fastidium legi vix posset. Gallandius, p. 44.

asked him if he was a gentleman. Sir, said Castellanus, you know that there were three in Noah's ark: I really cannot inform you from which of those three I am descended. His reply pleased the king.

Castellanus valued himself upon having a most extensive literature, insomuch that, the vast erudition of Postellus exciting his jealousy, he brought many persecutions upon his rival, as says Thevet in his *Eloges*, speaking of Postellus. *Lettres de Bayle*, tom. i. p. 20.

Castellanus<sup>x</sup>, in a funeral sermon upon his good patron, Francis I, declared his hope<sup>y</sup> that the king was gone directly to Paradise. This gave great offence to the Sorbonne, which sent deputies to complain of it at court. But they were coldly received: and Mendoza, the king's steward, told them, that he knew his old master's temper better than they; that he never could endure to remain long in any place; and that if he went into Purgatory, he only stopped there just to take a gill of wine, or so, in his passage.

'From the letters of Erasmus to Castellanus, we learn that they both wrote a very bad hand. As to Erasmus, his manuscript of the *Lingua* was such a scrawl, that he himself could hardly decypher it, when he attempted, by the help of his copy, to correct the faults which had slipped into the edition of 1525. This he tells us himself at the head of the *Errata*.' Bayle, *Castellan*, not. D, and *Rem. Crit.* p. 3099.

Erasmus complains that mere worldly means were projected for removing the schism in the church. Charles V, united with the pope, required that the Protestants should re-establish every thing upon the old foot, and threatened them with war, if they refused to comply. The pope was contriving to execute the same project, by the assistance of

<sup>x</sup> See Thuanus, l. iiii. p. 87.

<sup>y</sup> Here is the place in the sermon, which Bayle hath not given us:

J'entens, que consideré la vie du feu roy, pleine d'actes vertueux & louables, &c. j'entens donc que sa vie, telle que j'ay dict, & sa mort plus louable que je ne scauroye dire, & l'infinité pesée de la grandeur & multitude des misericordes de nostre seigneur, peult induire une inclination en nostre entendement pour penser qu'il est en Paradis, comme chose qui n'est point incroyable, ny inestimable, selon la signification commune de ces mots, encores que le jugement certain de la verité ne soit en homme mortel, quel qui soit, par aucune persuasion ou conjecture humaine. See Gallandius, p. 265.



the princes, and by multiplying the number of cardinals: and this, in the opinion of Erasmus, was to provoke God more and more. He wished that the rulers of the church would begin a reformation at home, and correct their own scandalous misdemeanours, which, instead of diminishing, daily increased.

He observes how strangely Oecolampadius<sup>2</sup> was changed from a superstitious monk to a free-thinking reformer.

He wrote an excellent letter to Augustinus Steuchus<sup>3</sup>, criticising this author's works, and defending himself against his censorious cavils. This man had said that Germany produced most impious blasphemers: Erasmus bids him look at home<sup>b</sup>, and remember that in profaneness the Italians far surpassed the Germans.

The following letters are no less remarkable, in which he complains of his adversaries, who had obliged him either to spend his time in drawing up apologies for himself, or to stand condemned as a vile heretic. He says that Albertus Pius, prince of Carpi, died whilst his answer to Erasmus was in the press at Paris; and he adds merrily, that though Albertus had been deprived of his principality, he had still retained a right to his title of *princeps Carpensis*<sup>c</sup>; *a carpendo*, be-

<sup>a</sup> Quis exspectasset tantam in Oecolampadio mutationem? Ante cucullam plane monachus erat, et superstitione nostro sodalitus submolestus: nunc quanto alius sit, obscurum non est. Ep. 1163.

<sup>b</sup> Non secus omnino, ac olim fecere maximi illi viri, Euclides dum noctu Megaris Athenas proficisceretur ad audiendum Socratem.—Adrianusque præterea ejus nominis pontifex sextus, et Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, quos inter luctandum cum studiis et angustioris vitæ miseris, sæpe videre fuit ad ellychnios noctu in templis aut comitiis collucentes legendi desiderio accessisse. Naudæus, Pent. Quæst. Iatroph. p. 91. See also Amœn. Lit. tom. v. p. 265.

<sup>c</sup> Fieri potest, ut in Germania sint, qui non temperent a blasphemis in Deum; sed in hos horrendis suppliciis animadvertitur. At ego Romæ his auribus audivi quosdam abominandis blasphemis debacchantes in Christum, et in illius apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, et quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam sacerdotibus aulæ pontificiæ ministris, idque in ipsa missa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit. Ep. 1175.

<sup>d</sup> Hoc argumentum serio rursus tractavit Albertus Pius, cujus ingens volumen excudit Badius, quum opus, ut audio, non sit Alberti, sed per multas operas conductitias conflatum: nec minimum contulerunt Franciscani Parisienses; habent enim quendam insigniter *ἀπρόσφοτος*, Petrum Cornuensem. Ipse Pius rem fecit oppido quam ingeniosam, in-

cause he was always carping and censuring what he did not understand. He was buried in a monk's doublet. Ep. 1175, 1176, 1177.

<sup>c</sup> Baldus<sup>d</sup> in the year 1400, Christophorus Longolius in 1522, and Albertus Pius in 1530, were buried, at their request, in the habit of a Cordelier. Marot in one of his poems hath ridiculed Albertus, *who, says he, turned monk after he was dead.* Francis II, marquis of Mantua, who died in 1519, Petrarch in 1374, Agricola in 1485, and the duke of Parma in 1592, were buried, as they had desired, in the habit of a monk. Ducatiana, ii. p. 254.

This calls to mind a story which I have seen somewhere: A certain prince, who had led a very wicked life, was carried to his grave in the humble disguise of a monk. A woman, whose husband he had murdered, seeing the masquerade go by, cried to him, Ah, you dog! you think that you are finely concealed under that habit: but Jesus Christ will find you out.

P. Jovius hath given a great character to Albertus Pius, and also some account of his life and misfortunes. Vit. Alphons. p. 194—196, and Elog. p. 154.

Budæus was now much out of humour with Erasmus, and had kept two of his letters by him unopened for two years. Ep. 1166.

Erasmus still kept up his correspondence with his old patron Montjoy. Ep. 1174.

fixit aculeum, ac sese proripuit: decessit enim *multis* (perhaps it should be *non multis*) ante diebus quam Badius opus absolvisset. Dicebatur Carpensis, et quanquam ditone fuisset exsutus, cognomen idem manebat, licet ratio cognominis fuerit diversa: prius enim a *Carpis* erat *Carpensis*, post a *carpendi* libidine. Atque ut intelligas illum non sine causa dictum *Pium*, triduo quam moreretur, induit amictum divi Francisci, in ea veste Franciscanorum humeris deportatus est solenni pompa per vias, facie, manibus et pedibus nudatis, et in monasterio sepultus. Non insector religiosum hominis affectum: vulgatum est hoc apud Italos; sed demiror patres illos, quum non ignorent cujusmodi sit hoc sæculum, ejusmodi ceremoniis, ne dicam superstitionibus, irritare in se orbis invidiam, plus satis jam flagrantem sua sponte. Sed Alberti manibus precor lucem et quietem. Ep. 1176.

Exiit ingens volumen Alberti Pii, quondam Carporum principis, post exsulis apud Gallos, deinde sycophantæ, postremo Franciscani.—Nec puduit hominem principem, senem, ac diutina valetudine moribundum, denique jam æraphico sodalitio destinatum, manifestis mendaciis proximo capitale struere calumniam. Ep. 1195.

<sup>d</sup> Menagian. iv. 9.

He tells Ursinus Velius, that he intended in his old days to turn Ciceronian<sup>e</sup> himself, and to try if he could imitate the happy eloquence of Sadolet, Bembus, and Julius Pflug, in his opinion, the three best writers of that age. A pure and elegant style was perhaps the smallest of Sadolet's accomplishments: he was a man of piety, probity, and moderation, affable and good-natured.

There was a rumour that Bembus, Sadolet<sup>f</sup>, Contarenus<sup>g</sup>, and Campegius died of poison, and were dispatched, because they had contracted a familiarity with some Protestants, and were suspected of being too favourably disposed towards that party. Sadolet was seventy years old when he died, and Bembus was much older. Surely it was not worth the while to poison either of them at that time of life.

<sup>e</sup> Vacat audire novarum rerum aliquid? Accipe: Quanquam inter *adūvata* numerari scio mutare linguam, tamen ego meditator mutare stylum. Ac primum applicui memet ad exemplar structuræ Budaicæ: legi plerasque illius epistolas feliciter elaboratas, annisus sum sedulo, sed conatus successu caruit. Nunc in effingendo Cicerone sum totus. Dices, Quid accidit? Huc exstimularunt me trium hujus ætatis in dicendo felicissimorum epistolæ, Jacobi Sadoleti, Petri Bembi, et Julii Pflug, quorum postremum nuper amicum habere cœpi, ex re mala magnum nactus bonum. Phrasis horum ita consentit, ut dicas a teneris unguiculis eodem in ludo doctos et educatos. Deum immortalem! qui candor orationis, quam felix facilitas, quanta sensuum sanitas, quam omnia cohærent, amnisque limpidissimi in morem inoffense labuntur, nulla salebra, nullo vortice lectorem remorante! Tales Ciceronianos toto pectore possum amare, utinam et assequi liceat. Sed arbitror consultius ut sexagenarius ab his comitiis abstineam, ne per juventutem tumultuantem fiam depontanus. Ep. 1170.

<sup>f</sup> Cum annum ætatis septuagesimum attingisset (Sadoletus) in febrim lapsus, diem postremum obiit Romæ, non sine dati veneni suspicione. Quatuor enim hi cardinales, viri docti et boni, Bembus, Sadoletus, Caspar Contarenus, et Campegius properata morte feruntur occubuisse: causam ignorant multi, nisi quod forte cum iis qui a Romana religione discordant, aliquam familiaritatem habuisse credantur. Boissard.

<sup>g</sup> Mortuus est Contarenus anno 1542, non sine veneni suspicione. Qui familiariter illum noverunt, de justificatione hominis recte sensisse dicunt. Fuit vir cumprimis doctus, et exstat ejus de magistratibus atque republica Venetorum liber. Sleidan, l. xiv. 381. See P. Jovius, Elog. p. 184. Pope Blount, p. 427. Vita Contareni auctore J. Cass. It is in the Vitæ Batesii. F. Paul, b. i. § 66. p. 159, and Dr. Courayer. Contarenus declared to Peter Martyr, that he had a great esteem for Melanchthon and Bucer. Melch. Adam, Vit. Buceri.

Seckendorf hath collected some things, which show the christian temper of Sadolet<sup>h</sup>, and are much to his honour.

Ex Raynaldo percipitur, evangelicam doctrinam Avenione, &c. progressus quosdam habuisse anno 1530; pontificem vero Jacobo Sadoletto mandasse ut hæreses illas extingueret, data ei potestate puniendi, qui culpabiles reperirentur. Subjungitur Sadoleti ad cardinalem Farnesium epistola, in qua se die et noctu sollicitum esse scribit, ut caveat ne hæretici in ditionem pontificiam sese conferant.—Ait tamen, se potestate in diplomate pontificio concessa non facile usurum, cum validiora sint remedia veritas ipsa, et mansuetudo Christiana, qua errorum confessio corde magis quam ore prolata exprimitur.—Sadoleti piurn et mite ingenium in illa ipsa causa Thuanus laudat, l. vi. Produxit etiam Raynaldus Sadoleti ad Farnesium aliam epistolam, qua pontificem reprehendit, quod cum Lutheranos persequatur, Judæis nova indies privilegia in ditione Avenionensi concedat, quibus ad injurias subditis inferendas veluti armentur, et inter hos ut lupi grassentur. ‘Quomodo,’ ait, ‘hoc accipi putatis a nationibus trans Alpes?’ Et post pauca: ‘In tantane defectione animorum omnium a nobis gentium (plane enim dico omnium, quod ego ita esse intelligo, vos haud ita sentitis, propterea quod auribus vestris vulgo homines blandiuntur) in tantane inquam defectione omnium, et prope exsecratione auctoritatis ecclesiasticæ, magno reipublicæ præsidio futurum putatis, si sic alderitis, si sic extuleritis Judæos?’

Hanc viri inter cardinales ob eruditionem, moderationem et pietatem laudatissimi confessionem, de universali odio orbis terrarum in regimen pontificium, nescio an satis caute, produxit tamen Raynaldus; quæ opponi potest parasitis aulæ Romanæ veteribus et novis, qui solius Lutheri ferocitæ tribuunt, quod tot gentes dominatum illum excusserint. Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 244.

Exstat Sadoleti epistola, a Cochlæo edita, ad Joannem Sturmium, in qua comiter scribit, multa se in Commentario ejus ad reformationem a cardinalibus (inter quos Sadoletus fuerat) tentatam, homine libero et erudito digna reperisse, elegantiam inprimis Ciceronianam, quam optimi judicii signum esse, eoque nomine Sturmium a se mirifice diligi ait, etsi in sententiis quibusdam de sancta catholica fide ab eo dissentiat; proficetur se majorum monumentis et seculorum legibus acquiescere, nova vero aspernari, quæ apud æquos et peritos judices sustinere sit perdifficile; favere se tamen dicit etiam Melanchthoni et Bucero, hominibus doctissimis. Reprehendit deinde convicia, quæ a Sturmio intermixta esse dicit nitenti orationis, et putasse se scribit, Luthero saltem id proprium esse. Laudes, quas Clementi VII dederat, defendit, et literis ita dicit instructum illum fuisse, ut, cum pontifex factus esset, omnibus admirantibus Latine loqui didicerit, quod antea non fecerat: fatetur tamen culpa ministrorum illum a pristino more et bonitate naturæ non minimum discessisse. Finit, reperta benevolentia in Sturmium et duos supra nominatos significatione. Seckendorf, Suppl. lxiij.

Sadoletus, ut erat pio et miti ingenio, perbenigne supplices [Valdenses] accipit, et quæ ultra ea capita libro comprehensa de ipsis spargantur, ad invidiam conficta et meras nugas esse ingenue declarat: cæterum oblato libello videri multa inesse, quæ partim integra sententia in melius

Julius Pflug<sup>l</sup> was also a learned and candid man, who, like Erasmus and Melanchthon and Bucer, was very desirous to contribute towards pacifying the religious differences in the Christian world, and laboured at it during the whole course of his life. He was at this time counsellor to George duke of Saxony. He was one of the authors of the famous *Interim*<sup>k</sup>, or the decree concerning an accommodation, or a truce, to be observed between Papists and Protestants, which gave great offence to both sides, because each thought that too much was conceded to the adversary. The tenor of it was in general very favourable to the Romish doctrines, somewhat softened, disguised, and palliated. The only concessions to the Protestants were the use of the cup in the eucharist, and of marriage to the clergy; and even these were only conditional and temporary, and to continue till a general council should decide about it. This passed in the year 1548.

Pflug was<sup>l</sup> made bishop of Naumburg, and then ejected by

mutari, partim acerbius in pontificem et præules dicta temperatione stylo mitigari possint: se nihilo minus eis bene velle; minimeque ex animi sui sententia futurum, si cum his hostiliter ageretur:—ad hæc verba propensæ nec fictæ erga eos voluntatis significationem addidit, legato Avenionensium, qui cum manu armata adventabat, represso, et ut retro cederet, admonito. Thuanus, l. vi. p. 189.

Romæ obierunt (A. 1547) Petrus Bembus, Patricius Venetus, & Jacobus Sadoletus Mutinensis, Carpenteracti episcopus, uterque versu et pedestri oratione politissimus scriptor: verum illius multa licentiosius, ut temporum nequitia et domini, cui serviebat, (Leopis,) mores ferebant, scripta exstant; hujus contra seria fere omnia, et digna persona, quam sustinebat. Utriusque in dispari morum instituto fortuna tamen par fuit, &c. Bembus (decassit) ex vulnere in latere ad parietem accepto, dum equo veheretur, &c. Thuanus, l. iii. p. 99:

<sup>l</sup> Burnet, ii. 355. Camerarius, Vit. Melanchth. p. 196. Du Pin, xiii. 157. 172. Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 220. 387. 395. Perizonius, p. 288, 289. 390. Sleidan, l. xiv. 366. xvi. 446. See also Gerdes. i. Append. p. 192.

<sup>k</sup> Sleidan, l. xx. 572. 577.

Auctores libri *Interim* a Cæsare Carolo V, et Ferdinando, ob navatam operam liberalia dona abstulerunt. Schlüsselburgius multo auro donatus domum rediit. Julius Pflugius canonicatu et argento donatus est. Michael Sidonius episcopatum Merseburgensem deinde est consecutus.—

Vide Crænum De Singular. Scriptorum, p. 15.

<sup>l</sup> Pflugius restitutus est, quietamque inde ad mortem usque possessionem habuit. Præfuit autem subditis insigni cum integritate et æquitate. Nihil duri adversus eos decrevit, qui contrarias partes secuti erant; et rara moderationis exemplum est, quod quadraginta fere cives Cizenses,

the elector of Saxony, and at last restored. He was a prelate of great moderation, of a sweet temper, and benevolent disposition, and suspected by the Papists of Lutheranism, and by the Lutherans of timidity and dissimulation.

Ep. 1198 is to Georgius Agricola<sup>m</sup>, whom he hath also commended in Ep. 1014. This learned man was once much inclined to Protestantism.

‘ Four things, in the opinion of Melchior Adam, hindered the conversion of Agricola ; 1. the indiscreet writings of some Protestant divines : 2. the scandalous lives of some of the Reformed party : 3. the breaking of the images, and the rebellion of the peasants : 4. the natural inclination which Agricola had for pomp and ceremony in divine worship.

‘ Of these four causes the three first entirely alienated Erasmus from Protestantism. Many other persons, who longed for a Reformation, were caught, like him, in the same snare : and hence it is that Beza, in his History of the Churches, meets so many in his way, who had tasted of the good seed, and then fell off. Reasonable men will tell you, on this occasion, that as things then stood, there was no possibility of carrying on a Reformation by mere patience, and gentleness of speech and manners ; that therefore the divine Providence left the combatants to their own temper, with a design, as it should seem, that neither party should so completely prevail as utterly to subvert and destroy the other. The observation is good : there are certain means, which, by being very proper to accomplish half of the work, are incapable of accomplishing the whole.’ Bayle, *Agricola* (George).

In a letter to Mallarius, Erasmus tells him the story of a divine<sup>n</sup>, who had stuck up the picture of Erasmus in his chamber, only to have the pleasure of spitting upon it.

qui patria emigrare, quam illum principem agnoscere, maluerunt, levi mulcta Senatui soluta, in gratiam receperit ; singuli enim non nisi unum florenum solverunt.—Ex his aliisque viri dictis et factis judicari potest, evangelicæ veritatis satis gnarum non solum, sed et ei non parum addictum fuisse : cur vero eam publice profiteri noluerit, Deus noverit, cui facti sui quisque rationem reddere cogitur, &c. Obiit anno 1564, ætatis 61. Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 395.

<sup>m</sup> Melch. Adam. Thuanus, l. xvi. 498.

<sup>n</sup> Quod scribis esse quosdam, qui sibi bonam felicitatis partem deesse judicant, quod Erasmus non viderint, quum corporis effigiem ære fusam

He<sup>o</sup> hath made some fair and equitable remarks on Budæus and Longolius, and pointed out their defects without any malignity and asperity.

He published his useful and entertaining collection of Apophthegms, and dedicated them to the duke of Cleve. This prince sent him a cup, for which Erasmus returned him thanks. Ep. 1211.

Julius Pflug wrote to Erasmus, exhorting him to use all his interest with the Christian princes, that by their authority the Romish clergy might be induced to relax in favour of the Lutherans as much as could be spared of the ecclesiastical constitutions; hoping that on the other side some wise and moderate Lutherans, such as Melanchthon, might show the same condescension.

But when open war is waged between two parties, of which the one wants absolute and arbitrary dominion, and the other is resolved not to be enslaved, there is no such thing as composition and accommodation<sup>p</sup>. This Luther knew very well, and therefore discountenanced and rejected all such palliating schemes, and, like the pope, was determined never to yield an inch. Ep. 1186. 1170.

Luther, this year, paid some compliments<sup>q</sup> to Charles V,

exosculentur, eaque inspecta ad studiorum amorem inflammentur, puto non omnino vanum esse: quanquam tu consolandi mei gratia rem, ni fallor, verbis amplificas. Sed ne possim istiusmodi favoribus inolescere, facit quorundam diversus affectus. Dicam enim quod rideas: Est quidam doctor Constansiensis, qui mei effigiem in charta impressam habet in conclavi suo, non ob aliud nisi ut quum inambulat, quoties eam præterit conspuat: percunctantibus odii causam, respondet se mihi acceptum ferre hoc calamitosum seculum. Ep. 1176.

<sup>o</sup> Si Longolius hoc operæ temporisque dedisset Græcis auctoribus, quo se exeruciavit Romæ, ut tandem inter Ciceronianos ac cives Romanos scriberetur, rectius, ni fallor, tum sibi, tum publicis studiis consulisset. Sed illud ingenium invida fata terris tantum ostendere voluerunt. Budæus vir est minime malus, et si quid in quem stomachi concipit, magis id facit alieno impulsu quam suapte natura, et alioqui placabilis ingenii, nec unquam usque ad virulentiam excandescentis. Ep. 1177.

<sup>p</sup> Ἐκτορ, μὴ μοι, ἄλαστε, συνημοσύνας ἀγόρευς.

<sup>q</sup> Ὡς οὐκ ἔστι λέουσι καὶ ἀνδράσιν ὄρκια πιστά, &c.

Homer. II. X. 261.

<sup>r</sup> Cæsaris insignem modestiam et clementiam in Comitibus et Hispania ostensam summopere laudat Lutherus, quia edicta nova postulantis morem non gesserit, et dixisse feratur: 'vix sibi persuaderi, adeo ma-

representing him as naturally courteous and merciful, and not inclined to hurt the Protestants, if his ecclesiastical counsellors did not irritate him.

Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus died this year, and Erasmus hath drawn up the character of his deceased friend, who was of an illustrious family, very wealthy, much esteemed by Maximilian and Charles V, in peace a most useful and skilful counsellor and citizen, in war an excellent officer, a man of learning, honour, courage, probity and piety, generally beloved and esteemed, and very little exposed to censure. Ep. 1187.

He excuseth himself from undertaking the office which Pflug had recommended to him, and represents the faults of both parties, which rendered the attempt impracticable. Indeed he had already offered his advice to the public upon this subject to no manner of purpose: the Romish court had been much offended at it, and the emperor would not deign even to hear it. In this Epistle he gives a charming character to Melancthon. He not only excels, says Erasmus, in learning and eloquence, but by a certain fatality he is a general favourite. Honest and candid men are fond of him, and even his adversaries cannot hate him.

Happy is the person whom this description suits! It is not safe to attack him: the public will revenge his wrongs,

lam et impiam esse doctrinam, cui tam multi celebres et præstantes viri adhæreant.' Refert etiam dictum Cæsaris: 'Si sacerdotes officium fecissent, nihil opus fuisse Luthero magistro.' Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 6.

\* Philippus Melancthon, præter insignem eruditionem et raram eloquentiam, habet gratiam quandam fatalem, quam genio suo debet potius quam ingenio, ut quum sit omnibus candidis gratissimus, ne apud hostes quidem habeat quenquam cui sit admodum exosus. Is Augustæ sedulo tentavit quod tu suades: ubi si per morbum licuisset adesse, lubens meum qualecunque studium cum illius opera conjunxissem. Sed quid ille profecerit, obscurum non est. Erant tum illic qui quosdam integerrimos nec extremæ dignitatis viros clamarent hæreticos, non ob aliud, nisi quod aliquoties cum Melancthone miscuissent colloquium: quid dicturi, si Erasmus crebro cum illo contulisset? id enim erat necesse.—Apud Coloniam Agrippinam, quum pestis hæc nondum hucusque incruduisset, prodit consilium quoddam indicans moderatas aliquot rationes sedandæ tempestatis, incolumi etiam pontificis ac theologorum auctoritate. Adeo receptum non est, ut me propemodum opprimerit suspicio, haud alio nitens argumento, quam quod sermo esset paulo Latiniôr. Ep. 1195.

\* Parcendum est autem maxime caritati hominum, ne temere in eodica, qui diliguntur. Cicero de Orat. ii. 58.



and take his part against you. Others there are who are doomed to be generally abhorred. But in both these cases there is no occasion to have recourse to *fatality*<sup>1</sup>. The causes are obvious and visible, and every one is *the artificer*<sup>2</sup> of his own fortune.

Erasmus judges very prudently<sup>3</sup> concerning the uselessness of a general council.

In a letter to Pole, he mentions the death of Lupset. Ep. 1197. And in the following letter he speaks of Cornelius Agrippa<sup>4</sup>, with whom he was not yet acquainted.

He bought a house at Friburg, and was obliged in his old days to put it in repair: he often talks<sup>5</sup> of this rash un-

<sup>1</sup> — Vis abdita quædam.

Sidus, et occulti miranda potentia fati.

<sup>2</sup> Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam.

<sup>3</sup> Sunt qui flagitant synodum *ὀικουµενικὴν*, sed arbitror nihil futurum: nec sane video quid bonæ rei ex eo concilio sit oriturum si fiat, præsertim hoc rerum statu. Altera pars de regno nihil sustinet remittere, altera dogmatibus citius sit aliquid additura. Si quis de temperamento mutire incipiat, protinus audit novæ hæreseos auctor. Ep. 1193.

<sup>4</sup> De Cornelio Agrippa quidam amici docti ad me scripserunt e Brabantia, sed sic ut nec hominis violentiam probare, et plus illi in colligendo studii quam in deligendo iudicii tribuere videantur. Nonnullis illud non ingratum est, quod theologis ac monachis hactenus feliciter opedit, idque Cæsaris umbra, cui se profitetur a conciliis, et cardinalis Campegii præsidio. Sed vereor ne hominis fortitudo bonas literas magna gravet invidia, si modo vera sunt, quæ narrant amicorum literæ. Librum illius nondum videre contigit, nec ad me scripsit unquam. Ep. 1198.

<sup>5</sup> Ne nihil novæ rei putes esse, mercatus sum ædes honesti nominis sed iniqui pretii. Exhaustimus quicquid erat præsentis pecuniæ, et adhuc ædificamus. Tantum sensi tædiorum in licitando, contrahendo, stipulando, emigrando, immigrando, rixando cum fabris et furibus, ut malim decennium in libris versari, quam unicum mensem hæc devorare cataportia. Ep. 1194.

Sed de nobis accipe quod rideas. Siquis tibi nunciaret Erasmum jam prope septuagenarium duxisse uxorem, nonne terque quaterque te signares crucis imagine? Faceres sat scio, et equidem non injuria. Atqui nunc, mi Rincki, rem feci nec minus operosam, nec minus molestam, nec minus ab ingenio studiisque meis alienam. Eri domum speciosi quidem nominis sed parum æqui pretii. Quis nunc desperet amnes, versò in diversum cursu, relapsuros ad fontes suos, posteaquam Erasmus, qui hactenus per omnem vitam omnia posthabuit otio literario, factus est licitator, emtor, stipulator, cautor, ædificator, ac pro musis rem habet cum fabris lignariis, ferrariis, lapidariis, vitrariis? Hæ curæ, mi Rincki, a quibus meus semper abhorruit genius, me tantum non exanimarunt tædio. Et adhuc peregrinor in propriis ædibus, quod, spatiosæ licet, nullam habeant nidum, cui tutò possim hoc corpusculum committere.

dertaking, no less disagreeable than expensive. But hence it appears, that the liberality of his friends had supplied the deficiencies of his pensions, which were ill-paid, or not paid at all. At the same time he had a fit of the gout, warning him, as he says, of the approaches of death.

He had a sight of the first Oration<sup>a</sup> of Julius Scaliger<sup>b</sup> against his Ciceronianus. He suspected Aleander<sup>c</sup> to have been the author of this piece; but he was quite mistaken. Erasmus is said<sup>d</sup> to have collected and destroyed, by his friends and emissaries, all the copies of the first and second Oration

Unicum conclave paravi exstructo fumarlo et contabulatis solo pariter ac lateribus, sed ob virus calcis nondum ausim me illi credere. Brevi tamen immigrem oportet, quod felix faustumque sit. Ep. 1200.

Vereor ne loci novitas et insolitæ curæ magnum aliquod malum accersant valetudini: jam enim, ut omittam alia, lævum pedem corripuit podagra, aut aliquid podagræ affine. Nimirum hi sunt τοῦ Σαράτρου ποντοπόρος veredarii. Accessit hodie dysenteria. Ep. 1199.

'A certain poet, says an ingenious writer, having purchased a house, the poetical senate was summoned to deliberate upon this surprising novelty; and the most eminent poets having declared that they had always dwelt in hired lodgings, he was ordered to dispose of his house immediately.' Here is the tale in Latin:

"Memini me olim legisse elegantem ingenii lusum, superiori ætate excusum, cum inscriptione: *Poeta domum emit*. Argumentum libelli est, nescio quis poeta, qui cum proprium domum emisset, res ea tantquam novi et pessimi exempli, ad poetarum senatum delata, acerbè judicata est. Præses senatus Eobanus Hessus constitutus, cui assederunt Celtes, Huttenus, Bebelius, Brassicanus, alij. Cum sententias dicerent, nemo ex omnibus fuit, qui vel Mecænatum gratia, vel ingenii felicitate tantum profecerit, ut ædes proprias vel hæreditate vel emtione possederit; omnes rei familiaris incuriæ, in conducto se vixisse et fassi sunt et gloriosi. Jussus igitur est quamprimum ædes revendere, pecuniam vero in symposium conferre, quo immanem hanc culpam elueret, et ubique habitare ac sine curis vivere poetice disceret. Jo. Valentinus Andreas." Bayle, *Tristan*, not. B.

<sup>a</sup> Scaliger published the first Oration in 1531, and the second in 1537.

<sup>b</sup> Beza, *Icon. Menagian.* iii. 454. iv. 271. *Anti-Baillet*, i. 336. *Samarthanus, Elog.* l. i. p. 28. *Pope Blount*, p. 423. *Huetiana*, p. 8. *Thuanus*, l. xxi. p. 645.

<sup>c</sup> Ex phrasi, ex ore, et loquutione convictus Aldini, aliisque compluribus, mihi persuasi hoc opus, maxima saltem ex parte, esse Hieronymi Aleandri: nam mihi genius illius domesticò convictu adeo cognitus respectusque est, ut ipse sibi non possit esse nottor. Continuo per literas cum illo expostulavi: verum is ex Ratisbona literis amanter scriptis sancte degerat se semper fuisse amicum et futurum. In Apologiis adversus Piam frequenter attackus est, licet suppresso nomine. Hunc dolorem ulcisci voluit. Ep. 370. c. 1755.

<sup>d</sup> Note to Ep. 1205.

of Scaliger, which were afterwards reprinted. But the second Oration was never published till after the death of Erasmus. Bayle<sup>c</sup> hath given an account of the quarrel, and rectifies some mistakes of Joseph Scaliger upon that affair. Ep. 1205. 1218, &c.

These two Orations of Scaliger<sup>f</sup>, and some Epistles of his relating to the same subject, were published at Thoulouse, A. 1621, with a recommendatory preface or dedication, by Maussac<sup>g</sup>, (though he did not put his name to it,) who was much to be blamed for reprinting and extolling such scandalous ribaldry. This preface of Maussac is not such as one would expect from a man of his erudition; it is not well written, and it contains nothing that is worthy of notice.

There<sup>h</sup> is something ridiculously diverting in the pompous exclamations and the tragical complaints of Scaliger. One would imagine at least that Erasmus had called Cicero fool and knave, and had made water upon his ashes: and yet all his crime was to have besprinkled the servile imitators of Cicero with a little harmless banter.

After the first *Philippic*, Scaliger composed a second, rather more scurrilous than the former. He was doubly enraged for many good reasons: for,

1. Erasmus, in some letters to his friends, had taken the liberty to call him a liar, and a calumniator:
2. He declared that he had only cast his eyes upon the Oration, and that he never would answer it, or even read it:
3. He had supposed that Scaliger was not capable even of

<sup>e</sup> *Erasme*, not, I, K, L, M.

<sup>f</sup> Amongst the works of Melchior Adam, there are, *Notæ in Oratorem Julij Cæsaris Scaligeri pro M. T. Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Erasmi*. Bayle, *Adam (Melchior)*.

<sup>g</sup> Colomesius, *Bibl. Chois.* p. 450. or 116.

<sup>h</sup> ——— acerbis contra Erasmus, fortasse justam ob causam, sed quæ tamen tales viros inter se committere non *deuit* (read *debut*) invecus est, non solum ea oratione, quæ per omnium manus volitat, sed altera, quæ rarius reperitur, qua se prioris auctorem profitetur, non minore acerbitate scripta: sed virum a gente vere generosum postea præcipitis impetû pœnituit, sibi quæ dolere scripto testatus est, quod non ante mortem cum eo reconciliatus esset, cujus summam doctrinam cum singulari pietate conjunctam, et exquisitum in literis et de literis judicium, atque adeo par numinibus ingenium, supra omnes admirabatur. Thuanus.

writing it, bad as it was, and that he had lent his name to others, like a voluntary cuckold.

Therefore Scaliger in the second Oration defends his undoubted right to the first; and in both, though they be composed with learning and strength, yet there is a mixture of laboured stiffness and obscurity, and a style which can by no means pass for Ciceronian; and the whole is seasoned with arrogance, vanity, self-applause, spite and scurrility, the usual ornaments, not of a meek and quiet spirit, but of a ruffian, and a bruiser in the republic of letters.

He<sup>i</sup> said that Erasmus had been a corrector of the press

<sup>i</sup> Correctorium munus (ut antea notavi) non secus ac typographicum profiteri neutiquam erubescabant viri inter literatos ex omni ordine theologorum, medicorum, et jurisconsultorum clarissimi. Erasmo quidem objecerunt Albertus Pius et Julius Scaliger ipsum Aldi heri sui officinæ ministrasse, et ibidem quæstum fecisse corrigendis exemplaribus. Is factum, quod objiciebatur, negabat et diluebat his verbis; 'An ille minister, &c.' Erasmus igitur eo, ut mihi videtur responso, tantum abest, ut a se amoliat correctoris officium, ut potius hoc typographico anteponendum censeat.—Nolo interim dissimulare, quod multi in eruditorum classe non ignobiles, ut suam inopiam levarent, hujusmodi quæstufu literarium, non pudendum, non illiberalem et sordidum fecisse. Maittaire, i. 295, who, instead of *quod multi*, should have said *multas*.

Exspatiatur (Albertus Pius) in laudes Aldi, quem, ut ait, nimis ingratis taxo et irrideo.—Sed ubi ingratitude? 'Citra cujus,' inquit, 'contubernium certe nunquam tu tam bellus fuisses. Negare enim non potes, quin Venetiis apud ipsum, cum illius officinæ ministrares, in utraque lingua multum profeceris.' Ita Pius. Nescio an sentiat me Græcæ Latineque didicisse ab Aldo, quod nec Aldus ipse, si viveret, sine risu sit auditurus. De doctrina Aldi nihil addam: amavi vivum, non lædam mortuum. Hoc unum possum vere dicere, me cum venire in Italiam melius scivisse Græcæ ac Latine quam nunc scio. Congeriem ac sylvam totius operis (Adagiorum) adduxeram mecum ex Anglia Venetiam, una cum sarcina librorum præcipue Græcorum, in quos notarain. Ambii, fateor, ut opus hoc exiret ex officina celebri. Id Aldus cupide recepit. Vixi in ædibus Asulanis menses ferme octo, opus simul et scriptum est et excusum paucis mensibus. Ubi interim spatium discendi Græcæ et Latine? Tantum erat laborum, ut vix otium esset scalpends auribus.

Aldus sæpenumero prædicabat se admirari, qui tantum scriberem ex tempore, idque inter tumultus circumstrepentium. Operis mei formas extremas castigavi, tantum in hoc si quid vellem mutare. Nam opus alioqui suum habebat castigatorem conductum, nomine seraphinum.

Aldus post me legit, cum rogarem cur hoc laboris caperet, interim, inquit, studeo. In hoc mihi profuit Aldus, quod codices aliquot manu scriptos suppeditavit, sed non ille solus, fecit idem Janus Lascaris, M. Musurus, Baptista Egnatius, Urbanus Regius. An ille minister est officinæ, qui

in Italy; which was not true, and, if it had been true, would have been no disgrace.

It appears from the above-mentioned Epistles of Scaliger, that some of his friends were much displeas'd at the scandalous manner in which he had treated Erasmus, and desired him to give over the contention. In a letter therefore to Jacobus Omphalius, a common friend to them both, he declared himself, though in a proud and awkward manner, willing to be reconciled.

To do him justice, it should be observed, that<sup>k</sup> he was sorry at last for his rudeness to Erasmus, and wrote a copy of verses in his praise, when he heard that he was dead. The verses are none of the best, and show his repentance rather than his poetic skill.

In the *Amcenitates Literariæ*, tom. vi. p. 508. viii. p. 554. there is a collection of sixteen letters of Scaliger upon this Ciceronian quarrel, in which he rails at Erasmus and Doletus, and extols himself, according to custom. One of these letters is to the infamous Beda, the calumniator and persecutor of Erasmus; and it is full of compliments to the former, and of invectives against the latter. There are several faults in these letters, either of the transcriber or of

proprio adest operi? Neque enim aliam operam Aldo addixeram, officina mihi potius erat ministra. Sed usus sum illius mensa. Verum, quia secus non potui, studens opus quamprimum absolvere. Cæterum mensa et tota domus erat Andreæ Asulani. Aldus nihil erat nisi opera. Sed illa mensa peperit mihi calculum, ignotum antea malum. Et nisi me ardor absolvendi operis alligasset, sæpius humanissime ad suæ domus mensæque consortium invitabat Janus Lascaris, et mihi satis erat pecuniæ ad biennium vivendum Venetiæ, etiamsi nihil accessisset e patria. Cum periclitarer insueto victu, rogavi Aldum, num Asulanus æquo animo pateretur me mihi parare victum in cubiculo; ubi respondit passurum nunquam usus sum mensa Aldina. Et hoc tempore dicit Aldum fuissem herum meum, cum ne hospes quidem fuerit. Romæ non sustinebam habere cardinales heros, licet tam commodis moribus, ut sodales commodioribus optare non posses, et insciens Aldum habui herum? An ille me pro servo habuerit nescio, certe cessit locum in mensa, et fassus est se multa ex me didicisse, deditque operam, ut post opus absolutum per hyemem adhuc retineret, cupiens nonnihil exerceri in rhetoricis.— Ego nihil literarum mearum debeo Italiæ, utinam deberem plurimum, Erant illic a quibus potuissem discere, sed tales erant et in Anglia, et in Gallia, et in Germania. Verum in Italia non vacabat, cujus visendæ gratia tantum eo me contuleram. Erasmus, Resp. ad Albertum Pium, t. ix. c. 1137.

<sup>k</sup> Scaliger, Ep. p. 59:

the printer, and I wonder that the editor should have passed them over. I could easily correct most of them; but should be loth to bestow any labour upon such performances, which, when they are set to rights, are good for nothing.

Scaliger had in him the love of paradox, and the spirit of contradiction. Because poor Cardan had said of the parrot, that he was a handsome bird, Scaliger would have it that he was very ugly; and because Homer was universally admired, he treated him as a despicable poet. His animosity against Homer puts me in mind of a strange remark of the Abbé Longuerue:

‘There are two books upon Homer which I esteem more than Homer himself. The first is the *Antiquitates Homericae* of Feithius, wherein he hath extracted from Homer all that relates to manners and customs. The second is *Homeri Gnomologia* by Duport. With these two books we have all that is useful in Homer, without the fatigue of going through his *Canterbury Tales*.’ Longueruan. ii. 3.

His contempt of Homer is ridiculous, and his judgment upon Feithius is not such as one would have expected from a learned man. The book of Feithius is the work of a boy, full of inaccuracies and mistakes.

Erasmus speaks in a very unfriendly manner<sup>1</sup> of the death of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. The impetuous Luther<sup>m</sup> did the same: but Sadolet<sup>n</sup> shows more modera-

<sup>1</sup> Bene habet quod duo Coryphæi perierunt, Zuinglius in acie, Oecolampadius paulo post febris et apostemate. Quod si illis favisset *Ευδαλίας*, actum erat de nobis. Ep. 1205.

<sup>m</sup> Luthér accounted the death of Zuinglius, and the defeat of his countrymen, to be a judgment upon them, for having rejected the doctrine of the real presence in the eucharist. See Seckendorf, l. iii, p. 38.

Cum Tigurinis, more gentis, profectus est et Zuinglius, sed pene ~~in~~ vitus, quia belli isthoc modo gerendi rationem minime probabat.—Morti (Zuinglii et Oecolampadii) nollem tam inclementer insultasset, credulasque adeo communium inimicorum fabulis et rumoribus temere tunc sparsis, quasi Oecolampadius necem sibi ultro conscivisset, aures præbuisset Lutherus, quum utique et ipse postea similibus plane mendaciis ab ejusdem generis hominibus sic satis fuerit proscissus. Perizonius, p. 177.

<sup>n</sup> Oecolampadium extinctum utinam possem dolere jure: sic enim literæ et doctrina hominis postulabant, nisi exstitisset ille in alio genere perniciosus. Ep. 1220.

In cæsorum numero fuit Zuinglius. Nam Tigurinatorum ita fert con-

tion and candour on this melancholy occasion. Luther should have loved Zuinglius, even for the sake of his undaunted spirit and heroic courage; in which they greatly resembled one another.

Erasmus addressed to the divines of Louvain a defence of his Colloquies, against the charge of false doctrine and heresy. Ep. 1206.

The Protestant princes °, at this time, writing to the kings of France and England, remind them that the corrupted state of the church had been lamented and censured by two excellent men, Gerson in France, and Colet in England.

This year there was a dreadful inundation in the Netherlands; and after it a terrible earthquake at Lisbon, described by Paul Jovius<sup>p</sup>. Sleidan<sup>q</sup> speaks of the same inundation, and refers us to Jovius, to Guicciardin, and to Barlandus. See also Perizonius, p. 192.

Erasmus, as we observed before, wrote a very free and elegant letter to Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus, and cen-

suetudo, cum in hostem exitur, ut ecclesiæ minister primarius una prodeat. Zuinglius etiam, vir fortis alioquin et animosus, cum secum reputaret, quod si domi resideret, ac prælium forte fieret adversum, fore ut magnam ipse sustineret invidiam, quasi concionibus quidem accenderet hominum animos, in ipso autem discrimine remollesceret, voluit omnino communem subire martem. In corpus autem exanime valde sensitum fuit, et vix etiam illius morte potuit odii acerbitas exsaturari. Natus erat annos quadraginta quatuor.—

Oecolampadius e vita discessit. Ex interitu Zuinglii maximum animo perceperat dolorem, eaque res morbum etiam auxisse putatur, erant enim conjunctissimi. Natus fuit annos quadraginta novem. Exstant ejus in prophetas aliquot lucubrationes, quæ valde probantur doctis. Sleidan, l. viii. p. 204, 205.

Zuinglius, cum ut pastor, ex veteri more, copias civitatis ad pugnam egressas comitaretur, nec ipse armorum expertus esset, occubuit. Decessit etiam Oecolampadius. Utriusque mors variis sermonibus causam dedit, et Lutherus de eorum fatiis haud benigne judicavit. Seckendorf, l. iii. 17.

Ipse Zuinglius in primis ordinibus fortiter pugnans occubuit, &c. Thuanus, l. i. p. 28.

Zuinglius had the same love for music, and skill in it, which we have noted in Luther, p. 119. He received a most courteous letter from pope Adrian VI, and might have had any favours, if he had declared himself a friend to the see of Rome. He always studied standing. See Melchior Adam.

° Sleidan, viii. 192.

<sup>p</sup> L. xxix. 180.

<sup>q</sup> L. vii. 182.

sured many things in his works. Steuchus replied, with much vehemence and bitterness, in a long letter. He seems to have been of the true persecuting spirit, and a thorough enemy to all reformation: for the rest, a man of good abilities and erudition. Ep. 1175. Ep. 516. c. 1919.

Erasmus sent Hervagius a collection of his Epistles<sup>r</sup>, which he might publish, if he thought fit.

A. D. MDXXXII.

ÆTAT. LXV.

Erasmus published St. Basil in Greek, (i. e. without a Latin version,) and dedicated the work to his friend Sadolet, then bishop of Carpentras. He highly extols the eloquence of this father, and he observes that Froben's heirs had been the first who adventured to publish in Germany a Greek book, which had not been printed before, and that they began with Basil, intending to continue the same undertaking. Sadolet failed not to return thanks to Erasmus, and advised him to compose a book, wherein he should excuse or retract some of the bolder sentiments of his youth, and explain his notions in a sense so catholic, that they might stand free from just censure; and afterwards to hold his peace, and disregard his adversaries. Ep. 1215. 1220.

In a letter to Bernard, cardinal and bishop of Trent, Erasmus makes<sup>s</sup> grateful mention of his obligations to him,

<sup>r</sup> Mitto Epistolas aliquot *florētulas*. Scio te mirari, quid hoc sit tili. Sed nihil magnæ rei est, nequid fallas teipsum. Vix hoc opellæ per turbulentas emigrandi occupationes licuit sumere, ut ex immenso epistolarum acervo *florculis* notarem, quas expediret excudi; quanquam vix ullas in hoc scribere soleo. Hoc quicquid est libelli, quale quale est, tibi certe bonum esse cupio: erit autem, si in distrahendo senseris tuum *πρικήφαλον* Ἐρμῆν tibi fuisse propitium, qui precor ut tibi viam commonstret compendiariam πρὸς τὴν Πλετόπολιν.—Ep. 362. c. 1749.

Hæ Epistolæ *florētulæ*, aut *florulentæ* (ut in editione Wecheliana) excudebantur a Christiano Wechelo, anno 1531. Ille, cujus Erasmus mentionem facit, *πρικήφαλος* Ἐρμῆς, fuit Hervagii Insigne Typographicum, Mercurii tricipitis truncus columnæ impositus. Maittaire, li. 360.

<sup>s</sup> Jam semel atque iterum in literis admonet tua pietas, ut aliquid nominatim petam ab amicissimo rege, te curaturum ut optatis potiar. Utinam istuc ad me perscripsisset summus ille monarcha Christus: per multa forent quæ ab eo peterem, sed nihil prius quam mentem ipso dignam. A rege Ferdinando vix video quid petam, præter ea quæ ultro præstat illius eximia bonitas. Exceptis studiis, quibus immori libet, ad



and to king Ferdinand, and replies very ingeniously and pathetically to the cardinal, who kindly promised to obtain for him from that prince any favour that he should ask. I wish, says Erasmus, that my Lord and Saviour would make me such an offer. I would ask him many things; and above all, that he would create in me a heart not unworthy of his acceptance.—To procure dignities and preferments for me, would be like laying a new burden upon a poor animal sinking under that which he carries.—I am almost useless; or only fit to continue those studiés which I have hitherto pursued, and which, I hope, will accompany me to the grave. I should be glad to have a calm and quiet evening of life, if I cannot enjoy a healthy and a cheerful one. To secure me from the infirmities of age, or to give me a stronger constitution, is not in the power of the great. I wish they could stop the mouths which are opened against me. Even that is not in their power.

Erasmus sent his copist Polyphemus (so he used to call him, because the man had only one eye) to different places in Germany, to collect free-will offerings. A count of Eiseburg, a cheerful man, who had heard much talk about the censurers and calumniators of Erasmus, presented a very handsome dagger to Polyphemus, and bade him tell his master, that this was the pen with which he used to combat saucy fellows. Erasmus returns thanks to the count for his kind present, and tells him that all the arms of the emperor would not be sufficient to defend him against the legions of monks, who had conspired to ruin his reputation. I am weak, says he, because I have not that dignity of station, and that authority, which would put such enemies to flight, as the smoke drives away wasps. I am all alone, be-

*omnem vitæ functionem sum inutilis. Dignitas nihil aliud jam esset mihi quam sarcina equo collabenti; opes congerere jam decurso vitæ spatio, nihilo minus absurdum sit, quam si quis confecto itinere augeat viaticum. Parvo alitur frugalitas, quæ mihi semper grata fuit, nunc etiam est necessaria. Optarim tamen tranquillam senectutem, si negata est hilaris et florida, quam multis video contingere. Senium depellere, valetudinem corrigere, nec summus pontifex, nec principum maximus Cæsar potest, quum habeam utrumque mihi benevolentem. Utinam saltem oblatrantium ora possent obturare. Ne id quidem illis in manu est. Ep. 1221.*

cause I never attached myself to any party, and never will whilst God preserves me my understanding.

He writes not so frankly to cardinal Cajetan, who, like a true cardinal, exhorted him to correct his works, and retract such errors as he might have formerly adopted, and show more moderation. He contents himself with complaining of his inveterate calumniators, and with declaring, in general terms, that he had already done all this, and would continue to do so. Ep. 1224. 1227.

He soon afterwards found Polyphemus<sup>t</sup> to be as great a rogue as his namesake the *Cyclops*, and discharged him from his service.

Froben's heirs published also the works of Demosthenes,

<sup>t</sup> Polyphemus, quum isthinc discederet, noluit quenquam scire quo iret. Ivit autem recta ad Lutherum ac Melancthonem; ac literis commendatitiis onustus, venit ad Joannem Saxonie ducem, fingens se esse famulum et intimum amicum Erasmi. Magnifice tractatus est aliquot menses. Tandem abeunti dux dedit elegantem equum et aureos quadraginta. Inde Coloniam. Illic apud Tielmannum summum amicum meum potavit aliquot menses. Post huc venit futurus custos domus meae. Ego extrusi illum in legationem ad Ratisbonam: illic bibit sex hebdomadas, et extorsit multum pecuniarum. Ratisbona rediens obiter invisit ipsum Augustensem. Ab eo extorsit equum et coronatum. Deceverat cum suo claudio equo commorari in meis aedibus. Equum exclusi, ipsam exceptum decem ferme dies dimisi non admodum volentem. Voluit adire Angliam: dissuasi. Deinde Poloniam. Ita rediit Coloniam, unde discessit cum pessima gratia Tielmanni hospitis, qui dicit multa foeda illic de eo spargi. Venit Francfordiam cum literis meis; petiturus Poloniam. At ego curaram ut literae committerentur negotiatori. Hoc ubi videt Polyphemus, rediit in Hessiam, et petit commendationem cancellarii ducis, qui sincerissime me amat. Res illi nebuloni rediit ad incitas; nec dubito quin brevi habiturus sit miserum exitum. Ep. 1233.

The Colloquy called *Cyclops* is a dialogue between this man and Cannius, another amanuensis of Erasmus; and Polyphemus is ridiculed in it. Tom. i. c. 831. He is introduced with the New Testament of Erasmus in his hand, and declaring that he had a great zeal for the Gospel. How so? says Cannius.

Po. Dicam. Franciscanus quidam apud hos non desinebat e suggesto deblaterare in Novum Testamentum Erasmi: conveni hominem privatim, laevam injeci capillis, dextra pugilem egi, sugillavi illum magnifice, totamque faciem tuber reddidi. Quid ais? non est hoc favere Evangelio? Deinde absolvi illum a commissis, hoc ipso codice ter in verticem impacto, fecique tria tubera, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus sancti. Ca. Satis quidem Evangelice. Istuc nimirum est Evangelium Evangelio defendere.

and Erasmus dedicated them to John George Paungartner, son of John Paungartner, a very rich gentleman of Augsburg, with whom he had contracted a friendship since his removing to Friburg, as it appears from several letters, and who had presented to Erasmus some gold, as it came out of the mine. Thus Erasmus endeavoured to procure Froben's heirs a good sale for their books; and his officious kindness was so much the greater, because he would take no money of them for composing those dedications, and for assisting them in the editions; though it may be supposed that what the persons gave him, to whom he addressed those books, he might keep as his own profit. He observes that Cicero and Demosthenes are two authors, whom very young students in Latin and Greek can neither understand nor relish; and that they are only fit for those who have made a progress in literature. The remark is just and true. Ep. 1228.

The bishop of Olmuts, Stanislaus Turzo, to whom he had dedicated an Exposition of the thirty-eighth Psalm, sent him his compliments, and a cup of silver gilt. Ep. 1229.

In Ep. 1230, he derides " the Franciscan monks with

\* Risi satis quod scribis de Seraphicis histrionibus, qui me toties occisum lingua, denuo isthic sepelierunt, videlicet ictum fulmine, simulatque non sum veritus in sacrosanctum Francisci ordinem debacchari. Ego vero nec in aurigarum ordinem unquam sum debacchatus, tantum abest ut Franciscanum ordinem incessiverim. Quos ego noto, reor ipsi Francisco magis invisos esse, quam sicut ulli mortalium.—Putant mihi Franciscum iratum, quod eos notarim, qui cœlum promittunt iis, qui in veste Franciscana sepeliuntur. Atqui nuper in somnis mihi *post mediam noctem* apparuit beatus Franciscus, vultu sereno atque amico, egitque gratias quod ea traducerem corrigenda, quæ ipse semper fuisset detestatus, meque inter ordinis amicos numeravit. Nec erat eo cultu, quo nunc illum depictum ostentant: vestem habebat non ex lana diversi coloris permixtam, sed ex lana fusca, quemadmodum ab ovibus detondetur intincta, seu Græcè mavis ἀλάρω, nec habebat rostratam cucullam, sed caperionem tunicæ a tergo affixum, qui poterat in caput revocari, si forte pluvia vehementior fuisset oborta, quod hodie quoque videmus in cultu quorundam Hibernorum. Nec funis habebat nodos arte factos, sed enodis ac simpliciter rusticanus erat funis: nec tunica defuebatur usque ad terram, sed palmo, aut eo amplius supra talos erat. Nec calceos habebat fenestratos, sed plane nudis erat pedibus. *Quinque vestigiorum*, quæ pingunt, nullum omnino vidi vestigium. Abiens dixit, dextra porrecta, Milita strenue, brevi meorum eris. Quamquam de cultu non arbitror laborandum, si modo patriarcham suum iis virtutibus

much humour and vivacity. Hence it appears, that he was far from acting that mean and despicable part to which he was ungenerously exhorted by his friends, the prelates of the Roman church, namely, to retract all censures of that kind, which he had so liberally bestowed upon such ecclesiastics. However, he highly extols one monk, named Theodoric. His jesting upon the *quinque stigmata*, the *five wounds* miraculously made in the body of St. Francis, must have given infinite offence to the monks, and to most of the zealous Romanists. Fleury, in his Ecclesiastical History, treats it as a true story, t. xvi. p. 574. *Some people*, says Montaigne, *attribute the wounds of St. Francis to the force of imagination*, b. i. ch. 20.

In a letter to Quirinus Talesius, who had been formerly his *amanuensis*, and was then pensionary of the city of Harlem, he informs him that he was revising his Adages for

referant, in quibus ille sitam existimavit ejus ordinis perfectionem. Illi *sex alas Seraphicas* appellant. Primum est omnimoda Obedientia, secundum Paupertas Evangelica, tertium Castitas immaculata, quartum Humilitas profundissima, quintum Simplicitas pacifica, sextum Charitas Seraphica. Hæc utinam omnes in pectore circumferant, quemadmodum circumferunt in sinu. Tum illos haud secus atque angelos pacis non mulierculæ tantum, sed cordatissimi quique complecterentur. Nunc quam rari sunt, qui pure doceant evangelicam philosophiam! quanta porro turba per aulas principum, per divitum domos oberrantium, qui nec docent, et iis sunt moribus ut ædes, in quibus versantur, nihilo sint puriores! Intelligit hic prudens lector quid hic sileam, et quid silendo magis loquar.—In longinqua professione flagitant pecuniam, quam lin-teolo tamen excipiunt, non contingunt nuda cute. Quis hoc cordatus absque risu videre possit? Jam et illud a nonnullis repertum est, persuadent divitibus imperitis animam agentibus, non tantum ut sepeliantur in veste Franciscana, dataque mercede veniant in consortium omnium ab ordine bene gestororum, verum etiam ut testamento jus faciant omnibus et singulis, qui de grege sunt observantium, ad illorum ædes divertendi, vocatis et invocatis ut sit locus. Ac primum hic hæredi sua libertas, quam suæ cuique domi salvam esse par est, eripitur, præter naturæ jus ac civile. An non gravis est servitus, hominem, cui sunt liberi, adolescentes ac puellæ, uxor ætatis integræ, pedissequorum chorus, obstructum esse, uti, velit nolit, subinde recipiat in ædes suas homines ignotos, Hispanos, Italos, Gallos, Anglos, Scotos, Hibernos, Germanos, et Indos, etiamsi in eadem civitate habeant Seraphici sodalitiū monasterium? &c.—

What he says of St. Francis appearing to him after midnight, is an allusion to Horace :

Quirinus

Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera,

a new edition, and had augmented his Apophthegms with two books, and was correcting some other of his works. He complains, that whilst the number of his enemies was increasing, that of his friends was diminishing. Warham died this year, and sir Thomas More <sup>x</sup>, justly <sup>y</sup> abhorred by the Lutherans, had resigned his post of chancellor. On the other hand, Lee was made archbishop of York, and Aleander had got a second bishopric added to the first. Ep. 1237. 1248.

<sup>c</sup> Erasmus <sup>z</sup> gives Warham an excellent character in his first book of his Ecclesiastes, which, being written after the archbishop's death, cannot fall under the imputation of flattery. It seems that, though he passed through the highest and most wealthy places both in church and state, yet he so little minded his own advantage, that he left no more than was sufficient to pay his debts and funeral charges <sup>a</sup>. It is said that, when he was near his end, he called upon his steward to know what money he had in his hands, who telling him that he had but thirty pounds, he cheerfully answered, *Satis viatici ad cœlum*; That was enough to last him to heaven.—

<sup>c</sup> It may not be thought amiss to mention the several preferments and honours that archbishop Warham passed through, which cannot but raise the admiration of the reader, when he reflects upon the slenderness of his inventory, since he was (what all churchmen were then obliged to be) a single man. The primate was born of a genteel

<sup>x</sup> See the account which More gives to Erasmus of his resignation. Ep. 1223.

<sup>y</sup> *Opinor Morum meum impetrasse ab humanissimo rege, ut gravissimo cancellarii munere exoneraretur. Lutherani jactant illum vere depositum, et suffectum illi quendam nobilem, qui statim quadraginta evangelicos liberavit a carcere, quo Morus eos detruserat. Ep. 1233.*

<sup>z</sup> Knight, p. 233. See vol. i. p. 36, and the Prefaces of Erasmus to Jerom, in the Appendix, Nos. lvii. lviii. lix.

<sup>a</sup> *Waramus—mortuus supra quam quisquam credat pauper, nisi quod non defuit unde dissolverentur debita, neque ita multum defuit, sed post impensa justa funeri non admodum multum superfuit.—Qui si visus est in fine ad dandum segnior, ipsa res indicat impares facultates, non imparè animum fuisse in causa. Erasmi Ep. Moro.*

I long searched for this letter to no purpose; but found at last that Knight had made a mistake, and that it is not a letter of Erasmus to More, but of More to Erasmus. Ep. 466. c. 1856.

family (and so probably had some paternal estate left him) at Okely in Hampshire; sent to Wykeham or Winchester school, from thence removed as fellow of New College, Oxford, in 1475. He went out doctor of law soon after (which Mr. Wood doth not mention). He was rector of Barley, Hert. Dioc. Lond. collated by bishop Alcock of Ely, in 1488, and soon after became an advocate in the court of Arches, and moderator in the civil law school in the university of Oxford. In 1493 he had the chantorship of Wells, and the same year he was constituted master of the rolls. The year following he went upon an embassy to Philip, duke of Burgundy, on the affair of Perkin Warbeck: after his return he was bishop of London, and keeper of the great seal; the same year he was made lord chancellor; and in 1504 translated to the see of Canterbury, where he sat twenty-eight years, dying very aged at St. Stephen's near Canterbury, Aug. 22, 1532. He was buried on the north side of Thomas à Becket's tomb, and had a decent monument set over him, which with others in the same place was demolished in the late times. He did, besides his many epistles, send over his picture to Erasmus at Basil; probably a copy of that at Lambeth, which was drawn by Holbein, and is said to be among other curiosities preserved in what they call Erasmus's Closet at Basil to this day. Erasmus in return sent him one of his own. He left his theological books to All Souls College library, his civil and canon law books to New College, and all his books of church music to Wykeham's College near Winchester.'

This year<sup>b</sup> Erasmus wrote a letter to Charles Blunt, son

<sup>b</sup> — Hæc scripsi gemens ac mœrens, totusque mihi displicens, quod certum audissem incomparabilem illum Heroa Guilhelmu Waramum vitam commutasse morte, imo ut melius dicam, ex hac vitæ umbra in veram immortalemque vitam emigrasse. Meam deploro vicem, non illius. Is mihi erat vere sacra ancora. Inieramus inter nos fœdus *συναποθησκόωντων*, promiserat commune sepulcrum, nec dubitabam quin ille, licet annis quatuordecim major, mihi superstes esset futurus. Certe nec senectus nec morbus illum nobis ademit, sed casus infelix, non tam quidem illi, quam studiis, quam religioni, quam regno, quam ecclesiæ. Tanta erat hominis pietas, tanta in consiliis prudentia, tanta in iuvandis omnibus benignitas. Nunc illa cœlestis anima, pro bona seivente, quam hic fecit, messem apud Christum optimam metit. Ego interim semianimis hic hæreo, promissæ fidei debitor, quam, nisi me fallit mentis præsagium, brevi sum exsoluturus. Pactio videri poterat comitatus, sed res

of lord Montjoy, which is inserted in his Adagia, c. 1110, and in which he passionately deplores the death of Warham, and forebodes his own.

Erasmus dedicated Terence to Joannes and Stanislaus Bonerus, two young gentlemen of Poland. In this dedicatory epistle he prefers Terence<sup>c</sup> to Plautus, as greatly superior in art and judgment. Ep. 1238.

Quirinus Talesius having married a widow, Erasmus sends him a ludicrous letter<sup>d</sup> on the occasion.

Morrhius<sup>e</sup>, a printer, who lived in the Sorbonne<sup>f</sup>, ap-

clamat serium fuisse conventum. Adeo morte illius collapsus est animus, nec ullis avocamentis erigi potest: sed ipso etiam tempore, quod acerbissimis doloribus solet mederi, vulnus hoc magis ac magis inrudescit. Quid multis? Appellari me sentio. Commori juvabit hic incomparabili et irrecuperabili patrono, modo per Christi misericordiam illic liceat ei convivere. Præclarum ille sidus fuit ecclesiæ, nunc præclarus accessit cælo: utinam mihi contingat veluti minutam stellulam adjungere soli meo.—

<sup>c</sup>—Nec enim sine causa criticorum suffragia artem huic auctori tribuere; plus enim exacti judicii est in una comœdia Terentiãna, absit Nemesi dicto, quam in Plautinis omnibus.

<sup>d</sup> Quod bonis avibus uxorem nactus ex animi sententia, mi Quirine, mirandum in modum gaudeo: qui mihi hoc nomine videre felicior, quod, juxta poetam epigrammaticum, quod es, esse velis. Precor autem, ut quemadmodum hic Junonem habuisti propitiam, ita faveat et Ilithyia. Quod viduam duxisti, non est quod te pœniteat. Id malunt qui uxorem ad usum rei domesticæ ducunt potius, quam ad voluptatem. Et qui equos ad usum quærunt, malunt domitos, quam indomitos. Quod si illa genuit priori marito, tu magni mali metu liberatus es, ne sterilem duxeris. Morsus mihi sæpenumero narrare solet, se, si centum uxores esset ducturus, nullam ducturum esse virginem: nunc habet vetulam nimium vivacem; quæ si migrasset, potuisset ille opulentissimæ clarissimæque foeminæ maritus esse. Hoc incommodi est, quod Episcopus nunquam esse poteris, nisi prius fias monachus.—Pro munusculo tuæ conjugis gratiam habeo maximam; libenter relaturus, si detur occasio. Scripsisti noctu, reclamante uxore. Hic risum non tenui. At Montjois, omnibus pedissequis male precantibus, solet post medium noctis venire ad lectum. Saltem ibi gustasti servitutem, sed illa jus suum merito postulat. Quod adhuc spiras Galliam amore studiorum, ubi sic pupigeris *την σύννοιαν σου*, ut illi turgescant ilia, facile impetrabis a magistratu, ut menses aliquot agas Aurelii.—Salutat te Gilbertus meus.—  
Recepta est Margareta furax, rapax, bibax, mendax, loquax. Ep. 1237.

<sup>e</sup> Gerardus Morrhius Campensis. Maittaire, ii. 559. 739.

<sup>f</sup> Quod ad Scaligeri calumnias (quem Jacobus Colinus, Abbas D. Ambrosii et regius *ἀναγνώστης*, facta literarum *μεταθέσει sacrilegum* appellare solet) nihil omnino respondere constitueris, video optimos quosque summopere probare: nam quisquis is fuerit, nihil aliud quam scurra est,

proves the wise resolution of Erasmus not to answer the foul-mouthed Scaliger.

Hen. Corn. Agrippa<sup>s</sup> wrote a letter to Erasmus, in answer to one which he had received from him. Ep. 365. c. 1751.

Colster had asked Erasmus his opinion concerning a certain author, and Erasmus gives it in a letter to him. Ep. 1248. This author, who is not named there, was Agrippa.

<sup>c</sup> The book<sup>h</sup> of Agrippa *De Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum* hath been praised by some, and blamed by others; and Erasmus hath given his judgment<sup>i</sup> of it to Abel Colster. Amongst the epistles of Agrippa and his correspondents, l. vii. 40, there is one which begins, *Scripti pridem ad te paucis*<sup>k</sup>, and which assuredly was written by Erasmus. No one will doubt of it, who shall compare it with a letter of Erasmus to Charles Utenhovijs (which is 1066 in the Leyden edition). Concerning Agrippa see Naudæus, &c.<sup>j</sup>

Paul Jovius was either foolish enough to entertain, or disingenuous enough to pretend, a belief that Agrippa was a necromancer; and that his black dog, whom he used to call *Monsieur*, was a devil in masquerade, walking upon all four\*.

John<sup>l</sup>, elector of Saxony, died this year. He had been

et ridiculus anilium deliramentorum exaggerator. Sunt hic, qui in auctore etiam communem sensum desiderant. Ep. 366. c. 1752.

<sup>s</sup> Bayle, *Agrippa*. Melch. Adam. Boissard, Icon. 297. Pope Blount, p. 387. Colomesius. Burnet, i. 95, and Bayle's Remarks on Burnet, not. O. P. Jovius, Elog. p. 186. Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting. vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 82. *Amœnitates Literariæ*, tom. ii. p. 513. 553.

<sup>h</sup> Colomesius, *Bibl. Chois.* p. 470 or 157.

<sup>i</sup> De viro, de quo quid sentiam rogas, magnificentius censeo quam ut de ejus ingenio censuram ferre possim. Ex ejus libri qualicumque gustu deprehendi hominem esse ardentis ingenii, variæ lectionis, et multæ memoriæ, alicubi tamen majore copia quam delectu, ac dictione tumultuosâ verius quam composita. In omni genere rerum, vituperat mala, laudat bona.

<sup>k</sup> Appendix, No. xlii. vii.

\* There is a story of the same kind mentioned in Thuanus: Marcus Bregadinus—securi percussus est; una et duo canes nigri scolopettorum ictibus confossi, totidem malignos spiritus, quibus ille ad præstigias suas abutebatur, celare crediti. Lib. xcix. p. 102.

<sup>l</sup> Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 30.



a good friend to Luther, who lamented his death, and preached his funeral sermon.

Luther <sup>m</sup> himself was very ill, and given up by his physicians: he was persuaded that his disease was caused by the devil, and confident that he should recover, and disappoint the boasts of the papists.

In a letter to Cholerus, Erasmus mentions (Oswaldus) Myconius. Melch. Adam, in the Life of this Myconius, observes that he was intimately acquainted with Erasmus and Glareanus, and much esteemed by them both. But Erasmus speaks of him with great contempt <sup>n</sup>. In the same letter he gives an account of Lambertus Campestris <sup>o</sup>, who had adulterated his Dialogues. He also complains much of Luscinius <sup>\*</sup>. Ep. 1233.

Thomas Poly wrote a friendly letter <sup>p</sup> from London to Erasmus, and hoped that he should pay him a visit at Basil. He had seen the Defence of Erasmus against the Sorbonists, whom he calls *Nebulones Parisienses*. He is, I suppose, the person who is called *Potus*, in the Colloquy Exorcismus, and is there represented as a merry fellow, who acted the ghost, to scare a silly and superstitious priest. It is an excellent story, but probably a little embroidered. Tom. i. c. 749,

<sup>m</sup> Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 38.

<sup>n</sup> Basileæ in locum Oecolampadii surrogatus est Myconius, homo ineptus, et quondam ludimagister frigidus.

<sup>o</sup> In civitate quadam, Zorst opinor dicitur, æqualis Argentorato, ditionis ducis Juliacensis, Lambertus Campester, qui olim Lutetiæ edidit Colloquia mea velut a me emendata, persuaso typographo rem esse vendibilem, et sub nomine meo præfatus, et admixtis per totum opus miris emblematis, quibus meipsum accusabam, omnia plena scurrilis cujusdam stoliditatis; quo peracto fugit Lugdunum; et simulans se summum Erasmi amicum, reperit patronum, cui mox suffuratus trecentos coronatos fugit, et in fuga deprehensus est inter aliquot puellas, suffigendus in crucem, nisi sacra cuculla Dominici servasset eum: is, inquam, multis aliis flagitiis ac sceleribus designatis, tandem in ea civitate, excussa cuculla, docet Evangelium, hoc est, meras seditiones. Dux petiit, ut hominem ejicerent. Responderunt, se non posse carere suo Ecclesiasta.

<sup>\*</sup> Nuper apud Cartusianos in convivio dixit [Luscinius] Erasmus esse nebulonem, et omnes qui legunt ipsius libros fieri nebulones.

Concerning this man see Ep. 1210. and the Amcen. Lit. tom. vi. p. 455, &c. 601, &c.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. 367. c. 1752.

A. D. MDXXXIII.

ÆTAT. LXVI.

Erasmus ascribes the book of Scaliger to Aleander, and supposes that Bedda and Julius Camillus had some hand in it. Ep. 369, 370. c. 1754.

Alciat relates that Julius Camillus, a man of learning, had made an offer to Francis the first, to teach him in a month's time to compose in Greek and Latin, in prose and in verse, with as much elegance as Demosthenes and Cicero, Homer and Virgil. He only required that the king would allow him one hour in a day, to give him his lessons. But he desired that he might be permitted to be alone with the king, since so noble a secret was fit only to be communicated to a crowned head, and that his majesty would discover it to no person. For his reward, he modestly proposed as much preferment as would amount to two thousand crowns a year. His great confidence induced Francis to think that he had something to communicate that was worth the knowing. So he took two lessons of him, and then dismissed him, with a present of six hundred crowns. Bayle, *François I.*

From this story it may be collected that Camillus was a hungry and a bold fellow, and a true Charlatan.

Erasmus had been well acquainted with him in Italy, and represents him as a learned man, in his Reply to Cursius. T. x. c. 1751.

Erasmus dedicated to Theobaldus Fettichius the Geography of Ptolomy, and to Joannes Emstedius a Commentary on the Psalms by Haimon, an author of the ninth century. These books were published by Froben's heirs.

In his address to Emstedius, who was a Carthusian, he bestows high commendations upon those monks, who lived suitably to their profession, and were dead to the follies and vices of the world. As to honest Haimon<sup>9</sup>, he says that his

<sup>9</sup> Ad Haymonem redeo, qui Davidicam citharam pulsans, Angelicum cœtum vestrum ad spirituales excitabit choreas, ut in hymnis et canticis Domino psallatis in cordibus vestris. Nemo fastidiat dictionis simplicitatem, sed amplectatur sententiarum pietatem. Hoc eo admoneo, quod suspicer multos esse tales, quales ego fui olim, qui nauseant ad omnia, quæ carent rhetorum condimentis et ornamentis. Sed quum essem parvulus in Christo, sapiebam ut parvulus: atque utinam nunc quoque prorsus evacuassent ea quæ sunt parvuli. C. 1464.

piety fully compensates for the homeliness of his diction, and that he now relisheth such writers much better than he did in the days of his youth. Ep. 1242, 1243.

The son of John Paungartner wanted to make him some present. Erasmus tells him that it was needless; that he had already received one from his father, a cup, a proper gift to be sent to a Dutchman; but, says he, I am not able to drink *Batavicè, à la Hollandoise*. Ep. 1249.

This year he published an Exposition of the Apostles' Creed, of the Decalogue, and of the Lord's Prayer, in form of a catechism, and to be a kind of confession of faith; and Sadolet, to whom he sent it, honoured it with his approbation. T. v. c. 1134.

The states of Holland made him a present of two hundred franks, the first compliment which he received from his own country, which paid him more honour a hundred years after his decease, than during his life. This friendly civility was highly agreeable, and the more acceptable to him, because he had made no application or interest for it. He had also this year received a present from the senate of Besançon, for which he returns thanks. Ep. 1244. 1251. 1269.

He informs us, that some strolling knaves, having learned from his writings the names of his illustrious friends and correspondents, had gone about in Germany, Italy, and Poland, pretending to be his disciples, or his domestics, and had got many good presents by this stratagem. Of this he gives remarkable instances, which show at the same time how much he was respected and beloved, and how ready men of rank and fortunes were to seize any opportunity of obliging him, and of showing their love of literature. This is matter of fact, though at present it may look like a Milesian fable and a fairy tale. Ep. 1247. 1252.

In one of these letters he hath taken occasion to speak very affectionately of the English<sup>r</sup>.

To Francis I he dedicated his Paraphrase on St. Mark, which he had formerly inscribed to the cardinal of Sion, in

<sup>r</sup> *Majorem in modum doleo Angliæ negotium exhiberi a Scotis. Videor enim mihi plus illi regioni debere, quæ mihi tot eximios peperit amicos, quam ei quæ me genuit. Vehementer tamen angit me Hollandia, indignis tractata modis.*—c. 1467.

1521. In it he speaks with freedom enough of the duty of kings and of ecclesiastics, and of the obligation incumbent upon them to imitate Jesus Christ, the supreme King and Pastor of the Church; an obligation to which few of them paid any regard.

He had received a very handsome present from Damianus à Goes, for which he thanks him; and declares to him that he never had meddled, and never would meddle, in the affair of the divorce \*, for several good reasons; and he hath said

\* Quod ais Lovanii jactatum a nescio quibus, me ab his stetisse, qui probant ἀποστάσιον βασιλικόν, quærisque quid sit talibus respondendum: quid aliud respondeas, optime Damiane, quam illud e Psalmis, ‘Dentes eorum arma et sagittæ, et lingua eorum gladius acutus?’ Quanquam satis scio tibi nequaquam istud a viro gravi fuisse auditum, sed a spermologo quopiam et acritomytho rabula, quo pestilentissimo hominum genere nunc undique scatet mundus. Nullus unquam mortalium ullam syllabam ex me audivit, approbantem aut improbantem hoc factum. Hoc apud omnes ingenue præ me tuli, mihi non vulgariter molestum esse, principem alioqui felicissimum in eum labyrinthum incidisse, cui cupiebam cum Cæsare per omnia convenire, quod intelligerem id ad publicam orbis tranquillitatem summopere conducere. Quæ fuisset autem mea non dicam temeritas, sed amentia, si nec postulatus, nec rogatus, de re tam ardua pronunciassem, de qua tot eruditi apud eam gentem episcopi, atque ipse adeo legatus apostolicus Laurentius Campegius, vir utriusque juris callentissimus, ferre sententiam cunctabantur? Merito amo τὸν Μονάρχη, ut cujus animum semper propitium ac faventem sum expertus. Quanquam ab eo tempore, quo cœpit hoc negotium agi, nihil ab eo beneficii accepi præter animi benevolentiam. Τὴν αὐτοῦ σύνοικον multis de causis diligebam ac diligo, idque, ni fallor, cum bonis omnibus, quam arbitror nec ipsi Βασιλεῖ invisam esse. Cæsari principi meo, cui juratus sum Conciliarius, præclare de me studiisque meis merito, nisi me agnoscam omnia debere, aut vehementer stolidus sim, aut insigniter ingratus. Unde igitur mihi mens tam læva, ut ultro me tam invidioso negotio involyerem, ad quod si fuissem vel rogatus vel flagitatus, manibus pedibusque fuerim recusaturus? Nullus unquam principum super hoc argumento meam requisivit sententiam. Tantum ante annos duos adierunt me duo ex Aula Cæsaris nobiles, uno atque altero colloquio urgentes me, ut quid de ea causa sentirem, exponerem. Respondi id quod erat res, me nunquam ad eam quæstionem intendisse animum, de qua viderem summos tum auctoritate, tum eruditione viros tot annis ambigere. Facillimum esse pronunciare quid ego optarem, at pronunciare quid jus divinum atque humanum concederet, negaretve, non modo multorum dierum considerationem requirere, verum etiam circumstantiarum causæ cognitionem. Illi professi se nihil ex mandato Cæsaris agere, discesserunt. Præterea, nemo mortalium me super hoc interpellavit negotio. Ergo cum sit impudentissimum mendacium, quod nugator ille, quisquis fuit, ad te pertulit, suspicor unde arripuerit occasionem.—Ei, quem ὁ Βασιλεὺς dicitur socerum addiscere, (sir Thomas Bulleyn, after-

enough to justify himself from the reproaches which some have since cast upon his memory, because he did not take part with the virtuous and unfortunate queen Catharine, for whom he had the highest regard and esteem<sup>t</sup>, as he often declared.

In the same epistle, he tells his friend a strange story<sup>u</sup> of

wards lord Rochford, and then earl of Wiltshire and Ormond) dicaram Psalmum vigesimum secundum, idque ante annos complures, ut id facerem, ab ipso rogatus. Est enim vir, ut uno ore prædicant omnes, unus prope inter nobiles eruditus, animoque plane philosophico. Hoc officium meum grato amplexus animo, petiit ut aliquid ederem in symbolum quod dicitur apostolorum. Feci quod voluit, eoque lubentius, quod res ad omnium utilitatem facere videretur. Hic nullum verbum est, quo (read quod) ad τῆς ἀποστασίας causam attinet, cujus tamen vir ille, ut accipio, nec auctor, nec instigator fuit, utpote quietis quam opum aut honoris amantior. Quum Cæsar et Franciscus Galliarum rex bellis inter se conflictarentur, utrique dicavi meas lucubrationes, neque quisquam exstitit, qui clamitaret me ab hoste Cæsaris stare. Ep. 1253.

Pontifex jubet ut rex Angliæ maneat cum regina in maritali contubernio, donec Romæ pronuntiatum fuerit de causa. Quis non intelligit eam litem nunquam finiendam vivis conjugibus? Jam octo sunt anni quod agitur hoc negotium, et rex non sine causa habet gravatam conscientiam, quum ducenti doctores Scripturis et argumentis probarint matrimonium illud nec humano nec divino jure potuisse coire. Quod si pontifex pronuntiavit non esse matrimonium, primum offendet Cæsarem, deinde damnabit sedem Romanam, quæ dispensavit contra fas. Tales causæ quæ multum adferunt nummorum Romam, quæque principes S. D. N. reddunt obnoxios, non solent finiri. Et fortassis aliud quiddam est, quod urit regis animum, quod efferrī non vult. (*He probably means Henry's love for Anne Boleyn.*) Ep. 372. c. 1757.

<sup>t</sup> See Knight, p. 252.

<sup>u</sup> Oppidum, de quo tibi narratum est, Germanis dicitur Schiltach: abest a Friburgo octo millibus Germanicis bene magnis: de quo an omnia vera sint, quæ vulgo jactantur, non ausim affirmare. Illud nimis verum est, totum subito conflagrasse, mulierem confessam supplicio affectam. Conflagratio accidit quarto Idus Aprilis, qui dies erat Jovis ante Pascha, anno 1533. Quidam ejus oppidi cives apud hujus urbis magistratum rem ita gestam pro comperto narrarunt, quemadmodum mihi retulit Henricus Glareanus, quantum meminisse possum: Dæmon sibilum signum dedit, e quadam ædium parte: Caupo suspicans esse furem ascendit, neminem reperit. Sed idem signum rursus ex altiore cœnaculo reditum est. Et hinc conscendit caupo furem persequens. Quum nec illic quisquam apparet, sibilus auditus est e fastigio fumarii. Illico tetigit cauponis animum esse dæmoniacum quiddam: jubet suos esse præsentī animo. Acciti sunt sacerdotes duo, adhibitus exorcismus. Respondit se esse dæmonem. Rogatus quid illic ageret, ait se velle exurere oppidum. Minitantibus sacrificis, respondit se pro nihilo ducere minas illorum, quod alter esset scortator, uterque fur. Aliquanto post, mulierculam, quicquam habuerat consuetudinem annis quatuordecim, quum in-

the devil's burning the town of Schiltach, as it was reported by several persons.

The imperial court <sup>x</sup> seemed now to desire his company in good earnest; for he had an invitation from the emperor to Brabant, and money remitted to him for his travelling charges.

Aleander <sup>y</sup>, says he, lives at present like an Epicurean, yet not without dignity.

'Aleander <sup>z</sup> owed the beginning of his rise to Alexander VI, who had a design to make him secretary to his son, the duke of Valentinois (Cæsar Borgia), which yet was not done. As he was skilled in the languages, Lewis XII called him to Paris to teach the *belles lettres*. Afterwards, going to Rome, he was employed by Leo X in many nunciatures; then made an archbishop; and, lastly, a cardinal by Paul III. He was named for one of the three presidents at the council of Trent, but died, before the opening of it, in 1542. He had once been a friend of Erasmus, but afterwards they had great contests; and Erasmus hath bestowed no good character upon him. He was a man of extensive knowledge, but seems to have had far less judgment than erudition.'

Erasmus complains of swarms of fleas <sup>a</sup> in his house at

terim illa quotannis et confiteretur, et acciperet eucharistiam, sustulit in aërem, impositque fumarii fastigio. Tradidit ollam, jussit ut inverteret. Invertit, et intra horam totum oppidum exustum est. An dæmon indignatus ob inductum rivalem cauponis filium, et oppidum perdidit, et mulierem prodiderit, certum non audivi: non est tamen veri dissimile. Hujus facti vicini tam constans est fama, ut fictum videri non queat. Feruntur et alia hujus generis, sed non libet aures tuas vulgi fabulis remorari. c. 1473.

<sup>x</sup> Revocatus sum in patriam a regina Maria, Cæsare, summo cancellario et duce Arscoti, misso etiam viatico trecentorum florenorum, et præstituto salario tanto in annos singulos, jamque paratis equis accinctus eram ad iter. Sed imbecillitas cogit expectare ver. Ep. 1256.

<sup>y</sup> Aleander nunc Venetiæ plane vivit Epicureum, non sine dignitate tamen. Ep. 1256.

<sup>z</sup> Dr. Courayer on F. Paul, book i. § 15. p. 26. See above p. 26, and 223.

<sup>a</sup> Audi rem mihi molestam, sed tibi tamen risui futuram. Præter alia incommoda, quibus æstas et autumnus me afflixit, fuit in aedibus meis tanta improbissimorum pulicum vis, ut per eos nec dormire liceret, nec legere, aut scribere. Quod malum nondum factum est mitius. Soleo per jocum amicis dicere, non esse pulices sed dæmones. Non erat ille jocus, sed divinatio. Siquidem ante dies aliquot exusta est mulier, quæ quum haberet maritum, octodecim annis furtivum commercium habuit

Friburg, by whom he was bitten as much as by the monks.

After lamenting the death of Warham, he speaks of Cranmer's <sup>b</sup> civility, who promised to be a second Warham to him; and he names some illustrious friends, whose favour made his losses sit the less heavy upon him.

He hath given a large account, and drawn a noble character, of Paungartner <sup>c</sup>, which may serve as an instruction to men of high stations and great wealth (if they have ears to hear) how they should employ the gifts of fortune to the best advantage, both for this life, and for the next. We will insert this epistle in the Appendix <sup>d</sup>, together with a ge-

cum rivale dæmone. Ea inter alia crimina et illud confessa est, quod per amatorem suum in hoc oppidum miserit aliquot magnos saccos pulicum. Nomen vici, ubi exusta est, dicitur Kylchove; abest hinc duabus leucis. Hæc stans scribo, et tamen undique pungunt, in caligis, in indusio circa collum, et pungunt more insolito, tam pusilli ut preñdi non queant. Tantumne permissum esse maleficis? Ep. 1260.

This story of the fleas, and that of *Schiltach*, may serve as examples of his credulity.

<sup>b</sup> Burnet, Hist. of Ref. Beza, Icon. Melchior Adam, p. 1. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

Cranmer was a singular friend to the learned, to Bucer, P. Martyr, Ochinus, Alexander Aless, Dryander, Justus Jonas junior, Melancthon, Sleidan, &c.

He was a great patron to all learned and pious men, especially those of the Reformation; cherishing those not only of his own country, but foreigners and strangers also.—Such as came to him, he gave honourable harbour and maintenance to, keeping them at his own cost, till he had made provisions for them either in the church, or university.—

<sup>c</sup> P. Martyr and his companion Ochinus had their annual allowances from the king (Edward VI): and so, I suppose, had all other learned foreigners here. Melancthon also, who was now expected over, was intended some more extraordinary gratuity. Unto this noble christian hospitality and liberality bishop Latimer, the great court-preacher, excited the king in one of his sermons before him. The passage may deserve to be repeated: I hear say, master Melancthon, that great clerk, should come hither. I would wish him, and such as he is, two hundred pounds a year. The king should never want it in his coffers at the year's end. There is yet among us two great learned men, Petrus Martyr and Bernard Ochinus, which have an hundred mark a piece. I would the king would bestow a thousand pounds on that sort.' Strype, p. 400, 401.

Such were the sentiments of this most venerable prelate and martyr, the pious Latimer.

<sup>c</sup> Melchior Adam; who calls him *Baumgartnerus*.

<sup>d</sup> Appendix, No. xliii.

nerous letter <sup>e</sup> of Paungartner to Erasmus. Ep. 1261. Ep. 383. c. 1773.

He <sup>f</sup> speaks of Alexander ab Alexandro, as of a person quite unknown to the learned world. He died at Rome, aged 62, in the year 1523.

He <sup>g</sup> bitterly censures Simon Grynæus<sup>h</sup>, whom he had formerly as much commended. It is in a letter of secrecy to Viglius Zuichemus, which begins with *Ἀναγίνωσκε μόνος*. Bayle knew nothing concerning this disgust of Erasmus, which probably went off afterwards: for Grynæus was with him at his death.

<sup>e</sup> Appendix, No. xlv.

<sup>f</sup> Demiror quis sit ille Alexander ab Alexandro. Novit omnes celebres Italiæ viros, Philelphum, Pomponium Lætum, Hermolaum, et quos non? Omnibus usus est familiariter, tamen nemo novit illum. Laurentium Vallam odit, subinde grammaticum appellans. Ep. 372. c. 1758.

<sup>g</sup> Scio Thomam Morum, Tonstallum, ac reliquos eruditos esse pessime animatos in Grynæum. Extorsit a me commendationes iturus in Angliam: commendavi paucis, sed invitus. Admonui, ut si quid affectus erga sectas in Anglia dissimularet. Hoc ille adeo non fecit ibi manens, ut ausus sit etiam multis epistolis eo missis tueri Zuingliana; nec veritus est de his ad Morum crebro scribere. Postremo decreverat Platonem ab ipso multis locis depravatum Mōro dicare, et fecisset, ni dissuasisset. Quo nomine Morus mihi magnas agit gratias. Sed me inscio Euclidem inscripsit Tonstallo: at ego certum scio Morum et Tonstallum non odisse pejus anguem quam istos addictos sectis. Nuper admonui Grynæum ne scriberet familiariter ad eos, qui prorsus abhorrent a dogmatibus quæ ipse tuetur. Nunc hoc agit ut ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi impetret annuam pensionem. Et quod est suavius, cuidam epistolæ suæ adjecerat hæc verba, *Recte feceris, si tu jam plena hirudo mihi famelico cesseris pensionem Cantuariensem*. Quum me vocat hirudinem, ex suo me æstimat ingenio: et homo diversæ religionis, nihil unquam de me meritus, petit ut ipsi cedam ducentos florenos annuos, quod vix frater a fratre propitio auderet petere. Hinc collige quid ille frontis habeat, quum miram ore præ se ferat probitatem. Ep. 374. c. 1760.

<sup>h</sup> Beza, Icon. Melch. Adam. Sleidan, l. xiv. p. 362. Pope Blount, p. 402. Bayle, *Grynæus*. Maittaire, ii. 117. Wood, vol. i. c. 58. Gerdesius, Hist. Evang. Renov. tom. ii. p. 378.

Simon Grynæus estoit un gentil personnage: il a fait de si belles prefaces sur Pollux & autres beaux auteurs. Il a bien travaillé sur le grand Pline. Scaligeran. p. 179.

Grynæus verbosissimus et paraphrastæ simillimus interpres. Huetius, De Clar. Interp. p. 225.

Grynæus natus est 1493.—A. 1523, Heidelbergæ literas Græcas docuit.—A. 1529, Oecolampadio auctore Basileam invitatur ad docendum.—A. 1534, Tubingam vocatur.—Biennio post Basileam reversus Erasmo morienti adfuit.—A. 1541, ex vita migravit. Melch. Adam.



He recommends Philippus Montanus <sup>i</sup> to Bonvalot. Ep. 1264.

In Ep. 1265, he makes a kind of apology for his sentiments, and refers those who might still doubt of his orthodoxy, to his Explications opposed to the censures of the Parisian divines, and entitled *Declarationes*, which however he will by no means allow to be *Retractations*; and he hopes that no honest man will ever consider them as such. By these and other letters to his friends, we see that he had not changed his sentiments, though he had in some measure changed his language, to appease the Romanists, whom the monks had irritated against him.

This year he gave a third edition of St. Jerom, whom he had twice dedicated to Warham. To this edition he added a new preface <sup>k</sup>, in which he extols the virtues <sup>l</sup> of his illustrious patron in a manner which will do honour to Warham as long as the works of Erasmus shall live.

Erasmus wished that the successor to Warham might be William Knight.

<sup>m</sup> Knight was born at London, and educated in Wickham's school near Winchester, and chosen fellow of New College. He was made secretary to Henry VII, and afterwards to Henry VIII, who sent him on an embassy to Maximilian. This emperor liked him so well, that he made him many presents, and gave him a coat of arms. He was archdeacon of Huntington, prebend of St. Stephen's, Westminster, archdeacon of Richmond, archdeacon of Chester, and, in the year 1541, bishop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1547. He bequeathed forty pounds to New College, and twenty pounds to Wickham's College.

Erasmus this year wrote a commentary on the eighty-

<sup>i</sup> Val. Andreae Bibl. Belg. p. 689.

<sup>k</sup> Appendix, No. lix.

<sup>l</sup> *Laudat Erasmus suum Waramum, quod triginta aureorum tantum summa (quamquam locuples illi tum fuerit sedes ista) parvæ sane morienti superessent, ex tanta abundantia, copiæ. At idem non commemorat quantas hæreditates atque possessiones consanguineis suis paraverat vivus: e quibus unum, ipsi Erasmo notum, ad equestrem ordinem evexerat.* The Life of Parker, in Strype, Append. p. 164.

The palace of Otford was built by Warham, and cost him thirty-three thousand pounds. Strype's Life of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 29.

<sup>m</sup> Knight, p. 239.

fourth Psalm, in which with much piety and moderation he proposed his scheme to heal the differences amongst Christians, and to bring things to an accommodation; but he gave satisfaction to neither party, and Luther and Musculus censured his system. Seckendorf <sup>n</sup> hath given a large extract from this treatise, and remarks of his own and of other persons upon it.

Georgius Wicelius wrote a very civil letter to Erasmus, in which he censures Luther and Jodocus Jonas <sup>o</sup>.

Wicelius <sup>p</sup> had been a Lutheran for ten years, and then deserted the party. He was suspected of being an Antitrinitarian, and of espousing the opinions of Michael Servetus. He went about, railing not only at the doctrine, but at the morals of Luther, for which he was extolled by Cochlæus, and others of the same stamp. He was confuted by Luther and Balthasar Raida. William Forbes <sup>q</sup> hath commended him, as a prudent and moderate divine. Ep. 371. c. 1756.

‘In the year 1533, there came forth a book in Latin, called *The King’s Book*, entitled, *The Difference between the Kingly and Ecclesiastical Power*; reported to be made, as Bale writes, by Fox the king’s almoner: which was translated into English, and put forth by Henry lord Stafford in king Edward’s days. The king (Henry VIII) affecting to be thought learned, affected also to have books called by his name; not that he was always the author of them, but that they came out by his authority, and had undergone his corrections and emendations.’ *Strype’s Life of Cranmer*, b. i. c. 13.

There <sup>r</sup> was this year a phænomenon in the air, which Luther accounted to be a prank of the devil.

<sup>n</sup> Appendix, No. xlv.

<sup>o</sup> Jonas, tibi olim laudatus, nunc hostis tuus, scripsit in me, cum aliud non suppeteret, mendacia et convitia. Ego respondi, sed nondum parata est editio.

<sup>p</sup> Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 65. Amœn. Lit. tom. ix. 28, &c.

<sup>q</sup> Si plures faissent Cassandri et Wicelii, non opus fuisset Luthero aut Calvino. See Bayle, *Forbes*.

<sup>r</sup> Ex literis Jonæ (constat) Octobris hora decima nocturna ad duodecimam usque, multis adstantibus, in quatuor cœli partibus et regionibus volitare visa esse multa millia facularum ignearum, vere flammei et ignei coloris, et Lutherum dixisse, se nihil in vita simile vidisse; alio die, eodem fere tempore, strepitus in aëre concursantium quasi exercituum auditos fuisse. Ad hæc notat Jonas, Lutherum, contemptorem Diaboli, et

‘ Erasmus<sup>s</sup>, from Friburg, in the year 1533, dedicates his Exposition of the Twenty-second Psalm to an English nobleman, then of great interest and power in the court; to Thomas lord viscount Rochford, father to the unfortunate Anne Bulleyn. He was first no more than sir Thomas Bulleyn, then viscount Rochford; but after his daughter became the king’s consort, he was created earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, as appears by another of Erasmus’s dedications to him. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas duke of Norfolk, and was related to several of the chief gentry in Norfolk. His own family had intermarried with the house of Ormond; which is the reason that title was also conferred upon him. By the general account we have of him, as well as by what we have from Erasmus, he appears to be a person of virtue and goodness; otherwise he would not probably have put Erasmus upon this pious work of commenting upon this Psalm. He is therefore mentioned with great honour by him, that though so great and powerful, so nobly descended, and who had the world at will, yet, amidst all these amusements and dazzling vanities, he could apply his mind to religion, and the more durable riches. He tells him how he was affected with pious thoughts whilst he was about this little work; and if he in reading should receive the same impressions, he should not be a little pleased that he had put him upon this task. He confesseth that some of the fathers had written upon the same Psalm, but what they had done were rather short notes than an exposition; and moreover adds, that he had made little or no use of them in this work; and concludes with his desire of its being serviceable to religion. This epistle is dated Aug. 1537, in the London edition; which, as it was the year after the death of Erasmus, we must bring it back to the year 1532, or 1533; especially since we have another epistle to this lord, dated 1533, wherein mention is made of the aforementioned Exposition, and of the encouragement he received from his kind acceptance of that work, to gratify him in that of expounding the Creed, or any

*tentationes expertum, omnia pro diaboli præstigiis habuisse, falsis terroribus, cum veris non posset, homines extereficientis. Seckendorf, l. iii. 66.*

<sup>s</sup> Knight, p. 245.

other work which he should desire from him : and therefore, though St. Cyprian and other antient fathers had done this before, yet he would not excuse himself from obeying his commands, especially since his lordship's design was for the general benefit of religion, not so much for his own use, as for the instruction of those who were novices in religion ; that, for his part, he was very indifferent as to the reputation he might get or lose by it, his aim being the good of those who were not sufficiently instructed in Christianity.—He concludes with earnest wishes that God, who had inspired his lordship with that zeal and affection for religion, would give good success to it.—Once more this great man put Erasmus upon a third pious work, of Preparation for Death. Erasmus readily complied, and told him that it was the very subject he was engaged in, for his own private use, when he received his commands, which should be obeyed now, in making it more publicly serviceable to the world ; and he hopes that God would prosper it to both their satisfaction. This English peer, as well as Erasmus, was in an advanced age, and consequently the meditation on death was proper for them both ; and soon after this we find that this good earl had occasion enough for consolations of this kind, having his beloved daughter beheaded, and his son George, lord Rochford (created so upon his father being made earl of Wiltshire), imprisoned in the Tower first, and then taken off as his sister was.

‘ The aforementioned nobleman was a great favourer of learned men ; amongst others (as Wood says), Robert Wakefield, a great linguist, was patronised by him. Bishop Burnet hath retracted his mistake, that this lord was one of those who sat in judgment upon his daughter ; which would have impeached him of great unnaturalness.

‘ There is one nobleman more, whom I may here also mention, who was a great admirer of Erasmus, Henry lord Stafford, the only son of Edward duke of Bucks (attainted and executed for treason in 1521). He was one of the most accomplished persons of his time, and though not the inheritor of his father's honours, yet he was a man of great virtue, piety, and learning ; his education was chiefly at Cambridge, to which place his father was a benefactor, where, under good instruction, he profited so much as to be-

come a finished scholar. The Oxford antiquary, who lays claim to part of his education, says, that he wrote several things both in prose and verse, but mentions not what they were; only that he translated a piece of bishop Fox, entitled, *De vera Differentia Regiæ Potestatis et Ecclesiasticæ*; as also two Epistles of Erasmus, wherein is declared the brainsick headiness of the Lutherans, &c. Lond. 1523. He died in 1558.

‘It was an ambition in all our countrymen of note, as well as in others abroad, to court Erasmus for his friendship, and to affect to have some mention made of them in his immortal works,’ &c.

Ep. 1246 is to Petrus Vulcanius, who appears to have been one of the friends and defenders of Erasmus, and who was the father of Bonaventura Vulcanius, a professor of Leyden.

A. D. MDXXXIV.

ÆTAT. LXVII.

After all the protestations of Erasmus concerning his innocence, he stood just as he did before in the opinion of the monks. He says to Cholerus: These animals are omnipotent at the emperor’s court. Mary is a mere puppet, maintained by our nation; Montigny, a man of authority, is a tool of the Franciscans; the cardinal of Liege is an ambiguous friend, and, when he takes offence, a violent enemy; the archbishop of Palermo is a giver of good words, and nothing else.

After this, it is needless to conjecture why Erasmus could not get his pension duly paid, and why he would not go to Brabant. He dictated and wrote this letter, which he sent to his friend Cholerus, *voce propria, manu aliena*. Ep. 1266.

The beginning of this year he was very ill of the gout, and lost almost the use of his limbs: so that we have few letters written or sent by him.

Sepulveda<sup>t</sup>, who is mentioned up and down in some

<sup>t</sup> Bibl. Univers. xxiii. 198. Du Pin, t. xvi. 64, and 113, &c. Thuanus, l. liv. at the end. Baillet, iii. 61. Maittaire, ii. 400. 512. Bayle, *Alcyonius*, not. B. *Aristote*, not. R. Wetsten. Proleg. ad N. T. p. 33.

Sepulveda, cum castigatam, quam commendamus, interpretationum fidelitatem repudiare se declarasset, aditum sibi ad hujus artis perfectionem obstruxit. Huetius, de Clar. Interpr. p. 285.

P. Jovius compliments and extols him, Elog. p. 225.

epistles written about this time, and a little before it, was an enemy to Erasmus, and a man of tolerable erudition. This wretch signalized himself in defending the cursed conquests and the diabolical behaviour of his countrymen the Spaniards in America; for which his memory ought to stink for ever. Du Pin, though he hath not treated him with the asperity which he deserved, yet hath sufficiently intimated his dislike of him. Thuanus hath done the same, and so hath La Motthe Le Vayer, tom. ix. p. 279, 280. Erasmus treats him with much contempt<sup>u</sup>. Sepulveda died A. 1573, aged 73.

From a letter of Sepulveda to Erasmus, it appears that Stunica, who was dead, had drawn up some new animadversions upon Erasmus, and had ordered the manuscript to be transmitted to him, giving him leave and power to make such use of them as he thought proper. Sepulveda exhorts Erasmus to select such as were to the purpose, and to make honourable mention of the deceased. After professions of respect and esteem for Erasmus, he takes the liberty to tell him<sup>x</sup> that he had not sufficiently applied himself to the study of geography.

<sup>u</sup> Stunica periit, sed illi successurus videtur Sepulveda, Alberti Pii alumnus, et Stunicæ sodalis, Hispanorum omnium gloriosissimus, cujus libellum in me opinor te vidisse, insigniter stultum et contumeliosum. Itali quum insaniant, insaniant luculenter. Augustinus Eugubinus respondet epistolæ meæ, sed furiose et indocte. Ep. 1266.

Sepulveda rediit in suam Hispaniam in comitatu Inachi, cardinalis et episcopi Burgensis, cujus fideli opera nactus sum Notationes Stunicæ in Hieronymum, et in Annotationes meas in Novum Testamentum, quas moriens reliquit, non edendas, sed ad me transmittendas. Quod tamen per Sepulvedam nunquam fuisset factum, ni Inachus id diligenter curasset. Mire placet sibi de suo libello, quum nihil sit stolidius. Nihil legit meorum; tantum quæ in fabulis audivit, exaggerat. In literis tamen ad me suis, fatetur quædam odiosius dicta, non ex suo stomacho, sed in gratiam Pio faventium. Annon bella purgatio?—

Valde laborat ut doceat Pium a nullo adjutum, quum ex iis, quos ad hoc negotium condixerat, quidam ad me scripserint, quidam hic apud me confessi sint. Ep. 362. c. 1759.

<sup>x</sup> Cæterum hic locus admonet, ut pro mea in te singulari benevolentia et observantia illud te hortet, ne cum tibi est de oppidorum situ disserendum, oscitanter agas, sed Strabonem, Melam, Plinium, aut Ptolemæum revisas: nam his paucis diebus dum Hieronymi epistolas evolverem, incidi in quædam scholia tua, ubi multo etiam magis diligentiam tuam desideravi. Scribis enim in epistola ad Evagrium, Rhegium esse oppidum in Græcia, Constantinopolim in Macedonia, cum hæc haud dubie, quæ prius Byzantium dicebatur, sit in parte Thraciæ, a Macedonia præ-

Le Clerc hath also observed that Erasmus had neglected to make himself master of that part of literature, and censures some of his geographical errors in the *Ars Critica*, p. i. c. i. § 1. 3.

Baker, in his *Reflections upon Learning*, defended Erasmus; and attacked Le Clerc with a virulence which one would not have expected from a man who, as I remember, was accounted, and who desired to be accounted, a candid, genteel, and polite person. But party zeal guided his pen:

Tantum religio potuit!

Le Clerc gave him a short answer, in the Index to the fourth edition of the *Ars Critica*, under the word *Erasmus*.

Baker hath one chapter upon *metaphysics*, in which he hath made no mention of Locke; just as if a man should write the lives of the Greek and Latin poets, and only omit Homer and Virgil!

He observed, c. 16, that there was little or nothing left for the sagacity and industry of modern critics; and thereby he showed that he was no critic himself, and not at all acquainted with the true state of classical books, and particularly of Greek authors.

Egnatius<sup>y</sup>, a learned professor at Venice, wrote a civil

sus aversa, Rhegium in Brutia, qua parvo freto Italia disjungitur a Sicilia; quod si ad Magnæ Græciæ Ciceroni quoque vetus vocabulum spectasti, tamen meminisse debebas, qui Græciam simpliciter dicit, hunc non partem Italiæ videri, sed Atticam, et finitissima loca designare. Memini etiam, sed locus excidit, me legere in alio tuo scholio urbem Nicopolim nuncupatam ex Augusti victoria, esse urbem in Thracia, quam esse constat in Epiro prope Actium, ad quod Antonius fuit prælio superatus navali. Sed tibi videlicet imposuit, quod altera est *ῥαυτὴ ὁμώνυμος* \* ἐν τῇ Θρακίᾳ. In libello Ciceronis de Senectute adscriptum a te notavi Capuam esse urbem in Apulia, quæ tamen caput est Campaniæ, et olim præter Romam Italiæ nobilissima. Nec est absimile hujus incuriæ, quod in Ciceroniano me, quem Cordubensem esse sciebas, *Lasitanis* annumerasti.—Ac de his quidem, quæ tamen levissima sunt, tum tibi, dumtaxat non dormitanti, facillima, sed indicantia magnam negligentiam, te amicitia, ut dixi, officiique gratia admonendum putavi.—Tuum erit omnia in bonam partem accipere: quod si a te secus factum intellexero, non amplius tibi officii ingratis ero molestus. Ep. 376. c. 1761.

<sup>y</sup> Bayle, *Egnatius*. Maittaire, ii. 29. iii. 640. Thuanus, l. xii: p. 377. Menckenius, *Vit. Polit.* p. 82.

\* It should be ὁμώνυμος.

letter to Erasmus<sup>z</sup>, recommending Sabinus to him : in it he declareth a high esteem for Erasmus, who also hath spoken as favourably of Egnatius. But Egnatius, in a former letter to a friend, in the year 1518, had undervalued Erasmus as much as he hath here extolled him. The cause of his discontent was this : A dispute<sup>a</sup> arose between Budæus and Portius concerning the coins and the measures of the antients. It happened that Egnatius, somewhere in his Commentary on Suetonius, followed the calculations of Portius ; and Erasmus, publishing a preface<sup>b</sup> to a new edition of Suetonius with this commentary, observed expressly that Egnatius was not in the sentiments of Budæus. Egnatius was sadly afraid of provoking Budæus, and extremely angry that Erasmus had made such a remark, and *awakened a sleeping cat*. He therefore addressed himself to Grolierus<sup>c</sup>,

<sup>z</sup> Ep. 1272.

<sup>a</sup> Bayle, *Budé*, not. X.

<sup>b</sup> Appendix, No. xii.

<sup>c</sup> Cum nudiustertius in tranquillum Cæsaresque meos Basileæ nuper excusos annotationes, et in his nescio quid ab Erasmo nostro de nummis scriptum legissem, ubi dissentire me a Budæo doctus alioqui vir et amicissimus asserebat, dum Portium sequor ; animadverti aliquanto altius vulnus descendisse, quam ego ab initio suspicatus essem, affecitque me vis minime exspectata, uti solet, non admiratione solum, verum etiam molestia. Quæ enim mihi cum Budæo studiorum dissentio esse potest, ubi tanta sit animorum conjunctio ? aut quæ testificatio mea honestior aut amplior esse potuit tum benevolentia erga Budæum meæ, tum judicii, quam ea, quæ a me in eis annotationis adhibita est ? Uti facile declararim me tantum in hoc studiorum genere Budæo tribuere, quantum mihi ipsi vix optarem : ut si aliter vel Budæus vel Erasmus sentit, næ ambo cum summo animi mei mœrore id sentiant. Quare ego te, Groliere, per eam animi propensionem, quam in doctos præ te fers, oro ; per humanitatem et divinam istam tuam beneficentiam obtestor ; per eam pietatem, quam tibi reliquæque genti debeo, adjuro, uti hunc Budæo scrupulum per literas etiam tuas eximas, meque illi ita concilies, ut intelligat vir doctissimus, esse in terris hodie neminem, cujus ego doctrinam magis admirer, de cujus ingenio libentius prædicem, quemque ego pluris faciam.—Quare non possum non vehementer admirari, quid tandem Erasmo in mentem venerit, ut etiam aliud agens, de studiorum dissentione nostrorum, præsertim falsa, publicandum sibi censuerit, cum Budæi vestigia me sequi profitear, cum doctrinam hominis tantopere laudem, et ejus præsertim libros quinque de Asse. Sed homo alioqui doctus cum numerorum rationem non probe calleat, et scriptione multa sese oblectet, et sibi plus æquo placeat, dummodo aliquid edat, quid tandem dicat non satis pensi habuit. Ita fit ut dum verborum copiam studet, minus res observet. Quod si maturare sibi pateretur diutius ea quæ partu-



a considerable man in France, entreating and adjuring him by all that was good, to reconcile him to Budæus; and then he dischargeth his spleen upon Erasmus in uncourteous terms, and with much contempt.

Egnatius is described by Erasmus<sup>d</sup>, and by others, as a good man, not less eminent in virtue than in erudition.

rit, pareret ille sæpe eos liberos, qui et vitales essent, nec vitiosi illi et morbosi sæpe in lucem prodirent. See Bayle, *Budé*, not. X.

<sup>d</sup> Virum non minus probum et integrum quam eruditum et eloquentem nominasti, sed cui Tulliani cognominis honorem negant doctorum suffragia. Docte loqui maluit quam Ciceroniane; et quod voluit assequutus est. Ciceronian.

Egnatius, in the letter above mentioned (Ep. 1272), amongst other handsome compliments to Erasmus, says:

Tu igitur, qui Germanis tuis *princeps* hanc literarum facem prætulisti—

There is nothing particular in this use of the word *princeps* for *first*: but it reminds me to do justice to a passage in Cicero, which hath been misinterpreted.

Here is the passage, De Legibus, ii. 6.

Sed ut vir doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus philosophorum omnium, qui *princeps* de republica conscripsit, idemque separatim de legibus ejus.—

Here is the misinterpretation:

Plato,—who wrote *best* of a republic.

It should have been translated: who wrote *first* of a republic; and it can admit no other sense.

When *princeps* means *best*, it cannot mean the adverb *best* (*optime*), but the adjective *best* (*optimus*). Come then, try it, and substitute *optimus* in the room of *princeps*.

Plato,—qui *optimus* de republica conscripsit.—

This, I think, will not pass for a Ciceronian phrase. Let us throw it aside, and proceed.

Plato (says Cicero) wrote *first* of a republic:—and he hath said the same in another place of this treatise, as his learned editor Davies observes. Principem Platonem de republica disseruisse, testatur noster infra.

It is in iii. 6.

Nam veteres verbo tenus, acute illi quidem, sed non ad hunc usum popularem atque civilem, de republica disserebant. Ab hac familia magis ista manarunt, Platone *principe*. Post Aristoteles, &c.

Plato then, according to Cicero, was the first who treated the subject in an *extensive*, *useful*, and *practical* way. Cicero hath also hinted the same thing in another treatise:

Atque his libris adnumerandi sunt sex de republica, quos tunc scripsimus:—magnus locus philosophiæque proprius, a Platone, Aristotele, Theophrasto, totaque Peripateticorum familia tractatus uberrime. De Divin. ii. 1.

Luther attacked Erasmus again, and Erasmus replied, as Sleidan<sup>e</sup> informs us.

*Princeps* is he, *qui primum capit*, and in its original signification it means the *first* in time or order; and then, by a very easy metaphor, it means the *chief*, *best*, and *most excel'ent*.

In *princeps exitu, rediit, scripsit, invenit, sententiam dixit, verba fecit*, in these and such-like expressions, *princeps* means *first*, and not *best*. To many passages collected in Gesner these may be added:

Sicilia *princeps* se ad amicitiam populi Romani applicuit. Cic. de Cl. 171. b.

Is *princeps* ex Latinis hæc tractavit. De Orat. 154.

Gorgias *princeps* ex omnibus ausus est, &c. Acad. 44.

These citations I take as I find them in Nizolius.

Lucretius, i. 94.

Nec miseræ prodesse in tali tempore quibat,  
Quod patrio *princeps* donarat nomine regem.

Horat. Carm. iii. 17.

Qui formiarum mœnia dicitur  
*Princeps*, et innantem Maricæ  
Litoribus tenuisse Lirim.—

Lambin knew that *princeps conscripsit* could only mean writing *first*; and therefore he proposed to alter the place; because, said he, Plato did not write first concerning a republic. 'Falsum est Platonem principem, id est, primum de republica scripsisse.' But this was not a sufficient cause for attempting an emendation, as Lambin might have seen, if he had considered the case a little better.

Horace says of himself, Carm. iii. 30.

*Princeps* Æoliûm carmen ad Italos  
Deduxisse modos.

He meant that he was the *first*. And yet here it might be objected, that, strictly speaking, he was not the first; since Catullus, before him, had composed some Sapphic odes. But either Horace did not recollect it, or he might think that Catullus had not done enough that way to earn the name of a lyric poet.

The person whose interpretation of Cicero is here examined hath also informed us, *ex abundantanti*, that as *princeps* so likewise *primus* is used for *best* or *chief*: which he gravely proves from Virgil, Æn. i. 27.

—veterisque memor Saturnia belli,

*Prima* quod ad Trojam pro charis gesserat Argis.

There is a passage in Terence which would suit him better: Eunu. ii. 11. 17.

Est genus hominum, qui esse *primos* se omnium rerum volunt,  
Nec sunt.

Where *primus* certainly and undeniably means *summus*, *præcipuus*.

<sup>e</sup> Quomodo scriptis adversariis egerint Lutherus et Erasmus, de libero arbitrio, dictum est libro quarto: sed hoc anno recrudit simultas, et

This year Clemens VII<sup>f</sup> died, leaving behind him no good character. He is represented as a niggard and a poltroon.

Burnet hath published part of a paper written by Luther to Bucer, in which the former is willing to make some concessions to the Zuinglians: but Luther, as Seckendorf<sup>s</sup> observes, had no such inclination, and hath been misunderstood.

The Franciscans at Orleans, being offended at a lady who died, and at her own request was buried privately, and hating her husband also, suborned a young fellow to personate the ghost of the woman, and to declare by signs, that she

Lutherus, per occasionem epistolæ cujusdam amici, graviter incusat Erasmum, quasi religionem Christianam in dubium vocet, rideat et condemnet, adductis etiam aliquot ipsius lucubrationum locis, demonstrare illud conatur, et in scribendo flexiloquum esse docet, et eloquentia sua tyrannidem quandam exercere dicit: et quoniam in rebus divinis ad eum modum ludat verbis ambiguis, cum apertius loqui possit atque debeat, adversus ipsum interpretanda esse omnia contendit. Hunc deinde scripto respondet Erasmus, et aspere quidem: nam omnium rerum maxime timebat, ne gratiam et auctoritatem amitterent sua scripta. L. ix. p. 221. See also Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 77; and Scultet, in Von der Hardt, p. v. p. 197.

<sup>f</sup> Du Pin, xiii. 88. 149. Sleidan, l. ix. 226. Seckendorf, l. i. 287; l. iii. 74. 519. Jovius, Vit. Pomp. Columnæ, p. 157, &c. 164. Hist. l. xxxii. p. 234. Vit. Ferd. Davali, p. 384.

<sup>s</sup> Non possum hic bona fide reticere, quod scriptum Lutheri ad Bucerum a Burneto in laudatissimo opere Historiæ Reform. part. ii. Collect. l. i. num. xxxiv. p. 166, adductum, quod ex MS. Collegij Corporis Christi *Cantuariæ* (he should have said *Cantabrigiæ*) nactus est, cujusque mentio fit in Actis Erud. Lips. an. 1687, p. 63, nihil aliud sit quam pars quædam instructionis—quam paulo ante retulimus. Sed non saltem mutila, verum etiam interpolata est: cujus quidem facti culpa Burnetum facile absolvere possumus, qui aliorum de manuscripto relationem videtur esse secutus. Sensus enim Lutheri, contra clara ejus verba, supra fideliter et integre allegata, ita refertur, ac si mediam sententiam probaret, et per eam litem sopire velit; cum plane ab illa compositione abhorreat. Error et æquivocatio est in voce *nihilominus*, qua in scripto a Burneto producto concedi aliquid videtur. Sed Lutherus scripsit *nihil minus*, et Germanice *in feine wege*, innuens nullo modo fieri posse ut media sententia ineatur; tolerare tamen tunc voluisse videtur ad tempus utramque. Itaque pro manuscripto Lutheri id non potest haberi, quod dicto loco asservari dicitur, cum nihil sit nisi fragmentum, et quidem sensu inverso, et omissis pro præsentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in sacra cœna argumentis, relatum, ex illa quam exhibui instructione. Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 80.

‘It may be worth the while to see what Burnet hath said, since Seckendorf, on occasion of Luther’s paper, in his third part of the Hist. of the Ref. p. 175.’ Anonymus.

was tormented in hell, &c. The ghost and two fathers were seized and convicted, and put into jail, and the ghost honestly confessed the whole matter: but they were dismissed without any further punishment. Sleidan, l. ix. The same story is related in Luther's Colloq. Mensal. p. 315, where it is said that the boy who acted the ghost was banished from France.

About this time Calvin left France, after having published at Orleans a book against those who taught that the souls of the dead sleep till the day of judgment. See Bayle, *Calvin*, not. E. In the year 1536, Calvin settled at Geneva, as preacher and professor. Ibid. not. A A.

Florimond de Remond tells us, that Bucer presented Calvin to Erasmus at Basil, who having conversed with Calvin, told Bucer that this young man would prove a pernicious creature to the church. Others have adopted this idle story from Florimond. It is a romance, and its author is a writer of no credit, veracity, and consistency. Florimond, says somebody, was a man *who judged without conscience, wrote without learning, and built houses without money*. Of these three accomplishments, the first and second are far more common than the third. One cannot help admiring the decent manner in which the illustrious Thuanus hath spoken<sup>h</sup> of Calvin.

In a letter to Melanchthon, Erasmus highly commends Georgius Sabinus<sup>i</sup>, who afterwards married Melanchthon's daughter. Ep. 1273.

Ep. 1267 is from Erasmus to his friend Grapheus, in which he represents himself as quite worn down with age, pain, and sickness.

<sup>c</sup> Cornelius Grapheus, alias Schryver, of Aelst or Alost, and secretary of the town of Antwerp, a man of uncommon learning, a good poet, and a dear friend of Erasmus, fell into great troubles on account of religion. What befell him on

<sup>a</sup> ——— Acri vir ac vehementi ingenio, et admirabili facundia præditus; sum inter Protestantes magni nominis theologus. L. xxxvi. 287.

<sup>i</sup> In reditu Erasmum Friburgi agentem salutavit Sabinus, cui ab Eg- natio literis accurate scriptis erat commendatus: ac vidit summum is- tum virum et venerandum senem in extrema senecta: cum jam et corpus ejus et oculi, et ipsæ ingenii vires languescere, et quasi in declinatione esse viderentur. Melch. Adam. Vit. Sabini.

account of a preface writ some years before, and a relation he published of the cruelty of his judges, who turned him out of his employment, notwithstanding his modest behaviour and submission, may be seen in a certain Latin letter<sup>k</sup> which he writ from Brussels, then his prison, to Carondeletus, the archbishop of Palermo, and chancellor of the court of Brabant. The said letter, which fell into my hands accidentally, and which describes the miserable state of those times in such eloquent terms, and sets it before our eyes in so pathetical and moving a manner, will, I make no doubt, be read with as much satisfaction by others, as it is here translated by me, &c.

‘What effect this letter produced, does not appear to me. But among the Epistles of Erasmus we meet with one written about twelve years after, in which he takes notice<sup>l</sup>, that the affairs of Grapheus were in a better condition.’—G. Brandt, vol. i. p. 42.

A. D. MDXXXV.

ÆTAT. LXVIII.

There is a remarkable Epistle, ascribed to Erasmus, and dated this year, which, as Le Clerc observes, is spurious in all probability. However, it sets forth that cardinal Matthæus was returned to Germany; that Erasmus wrote to a friend, who was one of the cardinal’s domestics, to know whether any schemes of pacification were carried on at Rome; that the cardinal, hearing this letter read, sent Erasmus a present of a gold cup elegantly wrought, which he happened to be showing to some company at that time; and ordered his domestic to inform Erasmus, that Paul III (who had succeeded Clemens VII in the year 1534) had promised to call a council, with a view to appease the religious quarrels. This Erasmus writes to Petrus Cursius, professor of rhetoric at Rome, to show him that the cardinals and other great men were far from despising him.

<sup>k</sup> The letter is a very good one, but too prolix to be here inserted. It sets forth the brutality of the ecclesiastical persecutors, and confirms the character which Erasmus gives to Hulst, the Carmelite and the Inquisitor, that *he deserved to be hanged*. This letter of Grapheus is dated 1552: but it is a fault of the press, and should be, I suppose, 1522.

<sup>l</sup> Erasm. Ep. 1267.

This Cursius had railed at Rome against Erasmus, for having said, under the proverb *Myconius calvus*, that it was an ironical expression, just as if you should say, *Learned as a Scythian, Honest as a Carthaginian, Warlike as an Italian; Italum bellacem*. Hereupon Cursius made a declamation, to extol the valour of the Italians, and to depress that of the Germans. Erasmus answers in this epistle, that it was a mere fault of the press; that he had written *Attalum bellacem*, and that it should be thus corrected in the next edition of his Proverbs. He adds, that one of the workmen<sup>m</sup> at the press, vexed that Erasmus would not give him money, had revenged himself most maliciously, and, by a small alteration of a word in the text of his *Vidua Christiana*, had made him utter a gross obscenity<sup>n</sup>.

But by the defence which Erasmus drew up against Cursius, at the end of the tome of his Apologies, it appears that the letter, of which we are speaking, must be a forgery: for Erasmus there defends himself in a quite different manner. He doth not change *Italum* into *Attalum*, but he says that he took the word *bellax*<sup>o</sup> in a bad sense, not for a man of valour, but for one who had the lust and the rage of fighting: and accordingly the word *Italum* was not altered. This is his defence; and, to say the truth, it is an excuse which could hardly appear satisfactory to an Italian. The letter to Cursius was not in Froben's edition, but was inserted in that

<sup>m</sup> Nuper enim cum inter imprimendum excusores aliquot conquesti fuissent me sibi xenia nondum persolvisse, exortus est inter eos quidam cæteris vinolentior, qui profiteretur se pœnas a me exacturum, ni daretur: atque id profecto veterator tam egregie effecit, ut aureis nummis trecentis redimere eam ignominiam voluissem. Cum enim in *Vidua mea*, quam serenissimæ Hungariæ reginæ dedicaveram, ad laudem cujusdam sanctissimæ fœminæ, inter alia liberalitatem illius in pauperes referrem, hæc verba subjunxi: 'Atque mente illa usam eam semper fuisse, quæ talem fœminam deceret.' Unde scelestus ille animadvertens sibi vindictæ occasionem oblatam esse, ex mente illa, *mentula* fecit. Itaque volumina mille fuere impressa. Ep. 1276.

<sup>n</sup> Bayle makes mention of a typographical blunder, in citing a passage of Scripture, which makes a sense horribly profane. *Ecchellensis*, not. F.

<sup>o</sup> Thus he also says, Ep. 1279:

Hoc interpretantur, quasi notarim Italos quod sint imbelles, quam his verbis Italia laudata sit, non vituperata. *Edere, bibere, loqui*, verba sunt media: *edacem, bibacem, ac loquacem* esse, sonant in vitium. Ita *bellacem* esse, non est laudis, sed vituperii.

of London : and perhaps this is the very letter which Erasmus disclaims, and denies to be his, in the abovementioned Apology<sup>p</sup>.

Erasmus seems to have seen this forged letter, or to have heard an account of it, and complains<sup>q</sup> of it as of a piece of scurrilous impudence in Ep. 1279.

The writer of this letter, says Le Clerc, hath imitated the style of Erasmus well enough. I am of a different opinion, and think that the style is laboured and affected, and by no means the style of Erasmus. Bayle takes it for granted that this letter is genuine, and that the ridiculous story contained in it is true. *Hongrie (Marie, Reine de)* not. H. So doth Heumannus. *Parerg. Critiq.* p. 56.

In the *Vidua Christiana* of Erasmus, there is no such passage to be found as, *Atque mente illa usam eam &c.* or any thing that looks like it.

In Ep. 1277, he complains of some young men, who had published scurrilous libels against him in favour of Ciceronianism, and amongst others of Doletus and Julius Scaliger.

Petrus Tomicius, bishop of Cracow, had sent him a present of thirty ducats, for which he thanks this prelate. He laments his death soon afterwards in a letter to Critius, archbishop of Gnesna. Ep. 1277, 1278. 1293.

Bembus congratulates him upon the high regard which the pope had for him, and hopes that it would end in great preferment, meaning probably a cardinal's hat<sup>r</sup>; for the words of Bembus are so expressive<sup>s</sup>, that they can hardly denote any thing less. The enemies of Erasmus have affirmed, that the court of Rome never designed him such a

<sup>p</sup> Finxerunt prolixam epistolam velut a me scriptam ad Petrum Curium, plenam scurrilibus ineptiis : eamque multis exemplaribus per urbem sparserunt, affingentes id ita me fieri jussisse : imitati sunt manum meam, atque etiam phrasim. In ea faciunt Erasmum hoc suppliciter agentem cum Curio, ut premet suam apologiam, me proxima editione castigaturum ea quibus offenditur. Tom. x. c. 1756.

<sup>q</sup> Romæ sparserunt epistolam, quasi a me scriptam, plenam jocis scurrilibus.

<sup>r</sup> De Erasmo in collegium cardinalium cooptando actum fuerat. B. Rhenanus, Vit. Erasmi.

<sup>s</sup> Itaque, modo recte valeas, neque te imbecillitas impediatur tua, mihi spes est te ab eo omnia summa honoris et dignitatis insignia brevi consequaturum.

favour: Erasmus hath affirmed the contrary. So it comes to, *Utri creditis, Quirites*. Ep. 1282.

He wrote to Paul III, soon after his promotion to the pontificate, and Paul returned him a very civil answer, thanking him for his prudent and moderate counsels, and exhorting him to defend the catholic faith. Ep. 1280.

Paul<sup>t</sup> was accounted by some people to have been not inferior in wickedness and debauchery to pope Alexander VI. His successor<sup>u</sup> Julius III was a pontiff of the same stamp. The infamous lives of these popes contributed doubtless very much to the increase of Protestantism. Thuanus says that Paul was a man of prudence and of erudition.

Erasmus received a letter from Barth. Latomus, which could not fail to give him some pleasure, as it informed him that his old calumniator Bedda<sup>x</sup> had been obliged in France to do public penance for his saucy behaviour and his seditious discourses.

He claims Longolius as a Dutchman<sup>y</sup>, and an honour to that nation.

This year he printed his *Ecclesiastes*, or a Treatise on the

<sup>t</sup> See Sleidan, l. xxi. p. 616; l. xix. 547. Perizonius, p. 400, 401. Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 74. Thuanus, l. iv. p. 130, 131; l. vi. p. 178. 181; l. xv. p. 458. See also Amœn. Lit. tom. vii. p. 263.

Vir fuit prudentiæ summæ ac moderationis, adhæc raræ, ut erant illa tempora, in quæ juvenus illius incidit, eruditionis; sed, &c. Mortuo plurima etiam editis libris et per Italiam sparsis vitio criminose data.— Quæ sive vera, sive propter odium a plerisque credita, magnum mortuo ac familiæ dedecus in Italia, longe vero maximum sedi Romanæ apud Germanos et Anglos ad offensionem proniores infamiam peperere. Thuanus.

<sup>u</sup> Bayle, *Jules III*. Father Paul, tom. i. p. 487.

<sup>x</sup> Bedda tuus fecit *amendam*, ut vocant, *honorabilem*, cum hac confessione, quod contra veritatem et regem locutus esset, quæ verba ante ædem Divæ Virginis magno populi concursu præeunte præcone palam pronunciavit; ne forte Lutheranum illum fuisse putes. Sed tamen detinetur adhuc in carcere, detrudendus in monasterium aliquod, ut ferunt, ubi et quando regi visum fuerit. Ep. 1283.

<sup>y</sup> Longolium hinc Galliæ sibi vendicant, hinc Mechlinia sibi asserit, quum revera fuerit purus putus Hollandus, prognatus e patre Hollando, in oppido celebri Hollandiæ, cui hortorum pulchritudo nomen dedit, Schoonhovia. Hic ne quis mihi protinus obstrepat, quod dico patruus ipsius Petrus Longolius vir apprime doctus mihi narravit. Non arbitratus sum committendum ut hoc decoris Hollandiæ præriperetur: et ipsius Longolii gloriam illustrat, quod in ea regione natus, tantus evaserit. Ep. 1284.



manner of preaching, which is in the fifth tome, and is dedicated to Christ. Stadius, the bishop of Augsburg. As this book was in the press at Basil, Erasmus went thither to take care of the edition, and also to try whether he could recover his lost health<sup>2</sup>; and he returned no more to Friburg. In his dedicatory letter to the bishop, he deplores<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Friburgi universitas est, ut vocant, cum primis celebris, et omni studiorum genere satis florens; nec illibenter vivebam in ditione regis Ferdinandi, cujus haud vulgarem in me favorem multis argumentis sum expertus. Sed ejus loci cœlum mihi semper visum est meo corpusculo parum amicum, atque ipsa etiam domus, quamvis elegans, nonnihil suspecta fuit. Hic aliquanto minus male habeo: nam bene habendi spes omnis ademta est, in hac quidem vita. Siquidem a puero fui delicati corpusculi, rarissimæque, ut medici loquuntur, texturæ, eoque cœli injuria facilius offendebar: sed vigor ætatis partim negligebat, partim vincebat hæc incommoda. Nunc posteaquam non labores tantum, sed multo magis tot lethales calculorum nixus, et his succedentes articularum diri cruciatus, absumto corpore præter cutem et ossa nihil reliquerunt, consentaneum est ut indies corpusculo magis ac magis attenuato, facilius offendar auræ incommodis. Sic plane fio cœlestis, ut ad omnem cœli habitum pejus aut commodius habeam: sed levius feruntur mala, quæ non possunt esse diturna. Ep. 1287.

Articularis morbus, quo Friburgi conflictatus ante fuerat, sic hominem lecto sub autumnum rursus afflixit, ut hunc raro sit egressus, cubiculum semel tantum. Et tamen in tantis membrorum cruciatibus, si quando vel minimum conquieissent, nunquam scribere destitit. Testis est Commentariolus De Puritate Ecclesiæ, et hæc Origenis recognitio. B. Rhenanus, Præf. ad Origenem.

Erasmio Basileam reduci, et vitæ ibidem catastrophæ expectaturo, vinum honorarium officii causa offerebat Joannes Oporinus. In mutuum complexum postquam venissent, et dextras junxissent, Erasmi manum Oporinus durius compressit. Ille, ut erat chiragricus, graviter se lædi exclamat. Sive serio sive joco hoc ab Erasmo factum, Oporinum constat attonitum obmutuisse. Id animadvertens Erasmus, amice compellat, vinum infundi jubet, et ut animum recipiat hortatur. Consedit cum suo comitatu, qui ob Erasmi adventum frequens erat, Oporinus; et semel atque iterum in orbem redeunte poculo, ad se quoque reversus, docta et gravi oratione, atque Erasmo ipso digna, Erasmum excepit. Digressi sunt non absque mutui amoris fomite, quo veræ benevolentiæ sancte cultæ igniculos semper aluerunt. Melch. Adam. Vit. Oporini.

Thuanus gives a good character to Oporinus, l. xliii. p. 528.

<sup>a</sup> Quando præsul Roffensis mihi infelici fato ademtus est, visum est hoc, quicquid est laboris, felicibus tui nominis auspiciis in manus hominum emittere.—Quid igitur hac tempestate crudelius, quæ me tot spectatissimis amicis spoliavit? Pridem Guilhelmo Waramo archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, nuper Guilhelmo Montjoio, episcopo Roffensi, et Thoma Moro, qui fuit ejus regni supremus judex, cui pectus erat omni nive candidius, ingenium quale Angliæ nec habuit unquam, nec habitura est, alioqui nequaquam infelictum ingeniorum parens. In tanta calami-

the death of his English friends, particularly of Fisher and More.

In many places Erasmus highly commends Sigismundus Gelenius, who was corrector of Froben's press. His uncommon erudition, says he, and the probity and sincerity of his manners render him worthy of a much better fortune. And yet I dare not wish that he were rich. Why so? you will say. Lest it should make him indolent, and less active in advancing the cause of literature. Poverty is a great spur to industry.

This may be true: but when a learned and a modest man hath long drudged in occupations which are really beneath him, and hath showed evident marks of his attachment to literature, of his zeal to serve the public, and of his capacity of doing greater things, if he were more at his ease, and at liberty to choose such works as best suited his abilities, he is surely worthy of some recompense, and it is a scandalous thing when such favours are only bestowed upon people who procure them by soliciting, by flattering, &c. Ep. 1284. 1292.

Erasmus at this time was very uneasy on account of the news which had reached him concerning the imprisonment and death of Fisher, and of More, and other troubles in England. My surviving friends, says he, who used to write me letters and send me presents, now neither write nor send, because they are afraid. Ep. 1217. 1284. 1286.

He says also, that having, by the advice of Lud. Berus, written to Paul III; the pope, before he had unsealed his letter, had spoken of him in a most honourable manner. He had resolved to add to the college of the cardinals some learned men, of whom he might make use in the general council which was to be called: and I<sup>b</sup>, says Erasmus, was proposed to be

*tate duæ mihi res præcipuè dolorem leniunt. Primum, dum cogito nos brevi feliciter apud Christum jungendos esse: deinde, dum reputo quam insignem amicorum chorum mihi dederit Augusta Vindelicorum, cujus Tu ut primus es, ita longe sincerissimus, nisi quod tecum paria facere tendit magnus ille Joannes Paungartnerus, cui proximus est Antonius Fuggerus, benignissimus studiorum altor. Hic est funiculus triplex, quem Solomon negat facile rumpi: sed is fit firmior accessione Joannis Choleri, &c.*

<sup>b</sup> The byshop of Rome, to strengthen the see of Rome against the Lutherians, made divers learned men cardinals about this time, as Con-

one. But to my promotion it was objected, that my bad state of health would make me unfit for that function, and that my income was not sufficient : for it is said, that by a decree of the sacred college none can be admitted whose annual revenues are less than three thousand ducats. So at present they think of loading me with preferments, that I may be qualified for the red hat. This is, as the proverb says, *to dress a cat in a gown and petticoat*<sup>c</sup>. He declares that his health would not permit him to accept such favours, and that he could scarcely stir out of his chamber with safety ; and he refused every thing that was offered to him. Indeed he was on all accounts unfit to be a cardinal ; a creature which, according to the definition of Guy Patin, is *animal rubrum, callidum, et rapax ; capax et vorax omnium beneficiorum*. A good commentary might be made upon this

arenus, Reginald Poole, John Bellay, Frideric Frigose, and shortly after Sadolete, Aleander, Bembus, and once appointed upon Erasmus : some talk he preferred these learned men, because he was very ill talked of for his two young nephews which he made cardinals in 1534. Cooper's Chronicle. Knight, p. 324.

Paulus III, initio sui pontificatus, in cardinalium numerum allegerat suos nepotes : cum autem hoc nomine minus bene audiret, alios quosdam nobilitate ac doctrina præstantes viros hoc etiam est honore dignatus, partim ut invidiam et offensionem leniret, partim ut idoneos haberet propugnatores, qui scriptis et eloquentia valerent. In his erat Caspar Contarenus, Reginaldus Polus, Joannes Bellaius, Fridericus Fregosus, quibus deinde per intervalla temporis adjunxit Sadoletum, Aleandrum, Bembum. Sed et de Erasmo cogitavit, ut quidem in epistola quadam ad amicum Erasmus ipse refert. Exstant etiam Sadoleti quædam ad Erasmus literæ, ubi de pontificis egregia voluntate multa locutus, fore dicit, et brevi quidem, ut ipsum ad summam dignitatem perducatur. Contarenus erat patricius et senator Venetus, magni nominis, propter doctrinam ; et præter omnem expectationem dicitur, cum nihil ambivisset, ad hunc fuisse gradum evectus. Sleidan, l. xi. p. 298.

Ferunt illi a pontifice oblatam cardinalitii status dignitatem, quam cum recusasset, cum miraculo a cæteris patribus ecclesiasticis exceptum fuisse hunc contemptum, vocatumque Erasmus *sapientem bestiam*, qui tantam dignitatem, tamque speciosos et fructuosos titulos imprudenter respueret, quos alii summis votis et laboribus ambirent, et quovis pretio sibi compararent. Boissard, Icon. p. 222.

See also Bayle, who supposes that there was such a design, *Erasmé*, not N.

<sup>c</sup> Feli, aiunt, crocoton.

Quosdam novi, qui in extremo vitæ magnis impendiis redemerunt galerum cardinalicium, ut in sepulcro titulus adscriberetur. Adag. c. 1146, A.

text of Guy Patin, which (excepting the *rubrum*) is applicable to other people besides cardinals. But in this case the fault, I think, is as much in the *feeder*, as in the *eater*.

The pope had appointed him<sup>d</sup>, as he says, provost of the college of canons at Deventer<sup>e</sup>: but he declares that he would have nothing to do with preferments; and that, as he must soon die, he would not now take a burden that he had refused all his life long. Ep. 1286, 1287, 1288, 1289, 1291.

The cardinals above mentioned, together with some eminent prelates, of whom Aleander was one, were employed by Paul III, in 1537, to draw a plan for a reformation<sup>f</sup> of abuses in the court and in the church of Rome. The Lutherans treated with the utmost scorn this farce of a half-reformation, which at last came to nothing.

We have spoken of it under the year 1522, and of the censures which these Reformers passed on the Colloquies of poor Erasmus: upon which Luther said; Hath Erasmus also fallen under your correction? I wish he were alive: he would give you such an answer as such infamous wretches deserve, and expose your pious grimaces to some purpose.

Erasmus, as he had falsely ascribed to Aleander, whom he could not endure, the book of J. C. Scaliger, was mistaken in ascribing to him also a book<sup>g</sup> of Doletus<sup>h</sup> in favour of Ciceronianism. Ep 1288.

Doletus\*, a printer at Lyons, was burnt at Paris, in

<sup>d</sup> See B. Rhenanus, Vit. Erasm.

<sup>e</sup> Præpositura — quæ sexcentorum aureorum reditum tribuere dicebatur. Melch. Adam.

<sup>f</sup> See Sleidan, l. xii. p. 303. Seckendorf, l. iii. p. 163, &c. Relat. Gotting. v. iii. fasc. ii. p. 372. Amœn. Literariæ, tom. vii. p. 263, &c. F. Paul, b. i. § 56, 57. p. 135.

<sup>g</sup> Doleti Dialogus de imitatione Ciceroniana pro Christophoro Longolio contra Erasmum, apud Seb. Gryphium Lugduni, 4to. 1535 et 1536. Maittaire, ii. 568. iii. 18.

<sup>h</sup> Bayle, *Dolet*. Baillet, i. p. 372. ii. 651. iii. 109. iv. 379. and the notes of La Monnoye. Gallandius, Vit. Castellani, p. 62, 63. Baluzius, p. 157. Scaligeran. p. 127. Gesner's Thesaurus. Dissert. de Lexicis. Maittaire, iii. 9, &c.

\* See Ducatiana, i. p. 51. 176. ii. 346. Duchat says that the picture and the elogium of Doletus are to be found in the Icones of Beza. They are not in the edition which I have, of Geneva, 1580. Stigelius made this epigram upon Doletus:

1546<sup>i</sup>, for Atheism or Lutheranism, aged about 39. He had applied himself closely to the study of the Latin tongue, but never acquired a very good style: of the Greek language he seems to have had little knowledge. A proper man, no doubt, to vindicate Cicero, and to censure the compositions of Erasmus! He hath been accused of plagiarism by some, and defended by others. His prose is tolerable; his verses, of which he voided a considerable quantity, are detestable; and one may apply to this Ciceronian those lines of Martial:

*Carmina quod scribis Musis et Apolline nullo,  
Laudari debes; hoc Ciceronis habes.*

Gruter inserted the Latin poems of Doletus amongst his *Deliciæ*, &c. But this learned man was himself a wretched versifier, and understood poetry as much as a Hottentot.

Julius Scaliger hath represented Doletus as the most contemptible and execrable of all writers, and as a most profligate atheist. In Bayle's opinion, Scaliger fell into this fit of railing, because Doletus had presumed to write for Ciceronianism, and against Erasmus, after he himself had undertaken the cause and exhausted the subject. Scaliger also thought that Doletus had pillaged his divine Oration, and had stolen bright hints and pretty thoughts out of that treasure.

Gallandius, in his elegant *Life of Castellanus*, having remarked that his friend Castellanus was for observing a due medium between cruelty and lenity towards heretics, says, that he delivered poor Doletus from prison, by his interest with Francis I; and that a cardinal (probably the cardinal of Lorraine) censured him for it, and called him a patron not only of Lutherans but of Atheists. To this ac-

IN DOLETUM.

*Esse tibi nomen potius debebat oieto;  
Nam tua Musa sapit, præter oieto, nihil.*

Melanchthon says to Camerarius:

*Gallicum scriptum Doleti vidi, et cogito de aliquo instruendo, qui respondeat, καὶ ὁ Ἐρασμος οὐκ ἐκφεύγει τὴν Ἀδράστειαν: sed displicet mihi petulantia in illo juvene.* Epist. 782.

<sup>i</sup> Others say A. 1545, aged 36.

cusation Castellanus, who was a man of spirit, made a warm reply<sup>k</sup>.

Baluzius, in his notes on Gallandius, affirms that Doletus was burnt, not for Atheism, but for Lutheranism. Beza probably thought the same, else he would hardly have honoured him with a civil and pompous epitaph. He was first strangled, and then burnt.

His Commentaries on the Latin tongue were sold, at Bridges' auction, for nine guineas.

Melanchthon<sup>l</sup> warmly censures the book of Doletus against Erasmus.

‘Maittaire, in his *Annales Typographici*, hath collected many things concerning the person and the works of Doletus, who was skilled in the Latin language, but very conceited, and very censorious. He was a Ciceronian, or one of those who pretended that Cicero was to be closely imitated by writers of Latin: yet Doletus was for joining Cæsar to Cicero, as a model for style. Against these men Erasmus wrote his *Ciceronianus*, a work abounding with wit and good sense. Julius Scaliger, one of the above-mentioned pedants, wrote

\* *Doletum non atheismi, in quem relapsus sit, sed Lutheranismi crimine damnatum, suspensum, combustum esse, probare studet auctor. [Utrum partibus, quæ hic contendunt, sit honorificentius, non dixerim: multa Christiano certe homine indigna in (Doleti) Latinæ linguæ Commentariis, præsertim in digressionibus illis, quarum index est in fronte tomi ii. leguntur. Non bene sibi ominatum hominem, apparet ex præcatione illa, [It is cited by Maittaire, iii. 101.] quam intexuit tom. ii. p. 1328, quamque ob summam libri raritatem huc repetere non piget:*

‘*Superi, rerum omnium præpotentes superi, hanc mihi unam, hanc unam largimini felicitatem, ut mea nunquam existimatio, mea nunquam salus, mea nunquam vita (fortunæ bona, ut caduca et inania, curis vestris digna non censeo, neque vos pro iis prece ulla velim obtundere) ex judicium pendeat sententiis. Bonis omnibus abundasse, felicitate omni cumulatus, voluptate omni in vita colloquisse mihi sane quidem videbor, si hoc precibus a vobis assequor.*’

An ita precatur homo sanus, et non male sibi conscius, et Christianus? ]  
Remarques sur Bayle, in the *Relat. Gotting.* vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 101.

The most charitable thing that can be said for the author of such a prayer is, that he was mad: and probably it was the truth of the case. Perpetual application to study, continual quarrels, violent passions, poverty, a series of calamities, and infinite pride and vanity, had soured his temper, heated his blood, and shattered his brains. Pride alone hath turned many a man's head, without the other assistants.

<sup>l</sup> Vidistine Doleti petulantissimum scriptum contra Erasmus? Curavi ut respondeatur. A. 1535. Ep. xlii. p. 91.

against Erasmus: and Doletus did the same; which drew upon him the indignation of Scaliger, who treated his prose and his verse with the utmost scorn. Doletus, who by nature was nothing less than long-suffering, paid him in kind, and also railed plentifully against him in conversation, as Maittaire shows. Quarrelsome and scurrilous, he drew upon himself a multitude of enemies, and offended the parliament of Toulouse, which put him in prison; whence however he was dismissed. Many particularities relating to these transactions are collected by this author, who also gives us several fragments of his works. At length he was burnt at Paris; some say, for making profession of Atheism; others, for Lutheranism or Calvinism. But it is hard, as Maittaire hath showed, to prove that he was an atheist. He used to speak with great contempt of Erasmus, as of a writer whose works could not possibly descend to posterity: and as for his own, they were, in his opinion, secure of immortality. He was quite mistaken both ways. The works of Doletus, never being printed a second time, are become so scarce that few persons have ever seen them: the works of Erasmus are to be found in all places, and are still read, and read with pleasure.

‘Yet his Commentaries on the Latin Tongue might deserve the favour of being reprinted. They are a kind of dictionary of that language, not disposed according to the letters of the alphabet, but ranged under diverse heads and common-places.’ Le Clerc, *Bibl. A. & M.* xxv. p. 74.

Calvin<sup>m</sup> hath represented Doletus as a man of no religion. Maittaire hath given us a copious account of him, and also large extracts from his prose, and abundance of his verses, which, if they entertain the reader, it must be, not with

<sup>m</sup> Agrippam, Villanovanum, Doletum, et similes vulgo notum est tanquam Cyclopi quospiam evangelium semper fastuose sprevisse. Tandem eo prolapsi sunt amentia et furoris, ut non modo in Filium Dei execrabiles blasphemias evomerent, sed quantum ad animæ vitam attingeret, nihil a canibus et porcis putarent se differre. Alii, ut Rabelæsus, Deperius, et Goveanus, gustato evangelio, eadem cæcitate sunt percussi. Cur istud? nisi quia sacrum illud vitæ æternæ pignus sacrilega ludendi aut ridendi audacia ante profanarant. Calvinus.

Goveanus fuit doctus Lusitanus. Calvinus vocat illum atheum, cum non fuerit: debebat illum melius nosse. Scaligeran.

Bayle, *Govea*, not. H.

their beauty, but with their deformity. And indeed poems may be so extravagantly and execrably bad, as to become diverting; like a monkey, whose ugliness is his merit. Here are two, which for vanity, effrontery, hobbling and unmusical numbers, false quantities, false measure, and nonsense, are incomparable. The first<sup>n</sup> he had the assurance to address to Hieronymus Vida: the other<sup>o</sup> is to Salmonius Macrinus.

Maittaire hath also inserted some poems in praise of Doletus, written by Salmonius Macrinus, Nicolaus Borbonius, and others. But Maittaire did not suspect, what most readers will discern, that these poets bantered Doletus, and that their extravagant praises were ironical. Buchanan did him justice, when he said;

Carmina quod sensu careant, mirare, Doleti,  
Quando qui scripsit carmina, mente caret?

Erasmus, soon after his return to Basil, sold the house which he had purchased at Friburg, where he had never enjoyed his health. Froben's heirs were so glad to have him again at Basil, that they had built a chamber on purpose to accommodate him. Ep. 1289.

There is a letter this year, under the name of *Nucerinus*,

<sup>n</sup> Collusimus, quæ si Criticus putat  
Jejuna, componat Criticus vera  
Exempta Criticis: mihi ipse  
Concino, non Criticis probanda.

Quod si Hesperæ oræ me minus audient,  
Nec me scient vatem Ausoniæ scholæ,  
Testabitur tamen poetam  
Gallia chara suum Doletum.

<sup>o</sup> Nullum negaverunt mihi versus genus  
Musæ. Fundo Elegos tam facile,  
Quam quisquam alius: Heroico bombo, si libet,  
Distendo guttur feliciter:  
Sapphon sui cantus genere lacessere  
Possim, æquareque sperem: denique  
Nullum negaverunt mihi versus genus  
Musæ: sed Iambicum placet  
Plus cæteris versus generibus mihi,  
Quod senæ animi plurimo  
Splendore verborum efferat pulchre foras,  
Nec eloquium nostrum impediat.



giving an elegant and pathetic account of the death<sup>p</sup> of More, and of Fisher, which hath been commonly ascribed to Erasmus. Ep. 378. c. 1763.

He says of More; I wish he had never meddled with that dangerous affair, (of the divorce, I suppose, and the supremacy,) and had left theological points to those who are of the theological order. In the same Epistle he observes how the Anabaptists<sup>q</sup> swarmed in Germany: and he speaks very coldly of his Ecclesiastes, and owns that he never was much pleased<sup>r</sup> with that performance.

In Ep. 1292, he tells us that he did not understand the Italian language.

This<sup>s</sup> year an edition of Livy was published at Basil, with a preface of Erasmus.

<sup>p</sup> In Maittaire's *Annales* we find;

Erasmi Carmen in Martyrium Roffensis Episcopi et Thomæ Mori, 4to. 1536. Bibliothec. Carlsonian. p. 158. Ann. Typ. ii. p. 855.

There is no such poem to be found in the editions of the works of Erasmus; and no such poem, I dare say, was ever composed by him. He was not in a versifying humour at this time.

<sup>q</sup> Tota inferior Germania mire infecta est a retinctis; in superiore dissimulantur. Turmatim huc affluunt; quidam Italiam petunt.—Non arbitrator Galliam ab hac colluvie esse liberam: sed mussant isthic formidine fustis. Ep. 1286.

Oppidum Westphaliæ *monasterium*, quod occuparant retincti, vi expugnatum est, animadversum in omnes qui duodecimum excesserant annum. Ea lues nonnihil compressa est verius quam extincta. Ex Hollandia Anabaptistæ turmatim in has regiones affluunt, nec dissimulant suam professionem; feruntur, ac dissimulantur, si nihil moveant tumultus.—Multorum sententia non minus operæ pretium fecisset (Cæsar) si Germaniam inferiorem ab istis pestibus defendisset, quam expugnando *Guletam*. Neque enim res jam intra *λογομαχίας* consistit, sed ferro et sanguine grassantur *Δίσαφοι*, insidiis, dolis, ac vi civitates occupant, cæde ac violentia invitos ad suam sectam adigunt, creant novos reges ac reginas, condunt novas leges pro sua libidine. Ep. 1287.

See above, p. 324, &c.

<sup>r</sup> Prodit *Concionator* meus, utinam bonis avibus: nam mihi quidem hoc argumentum nunquam arrisit. Festivum est quod adfers de puellis, quæ joco nonnunquam recipiunt, quod cum dolore coguntur reddere; optasque ut sæpius ad eum jocer modum. Verum, illud quoque nonnunquam evenit puellis, ut quod per lusum receperunt abortu cogantur rejicere, aut in ipso partu emori. Quorum posterius metuebam, prius illud evenit. Ep. 1286.

See also Ep. 1287.

<sup>s</sup> Basileensis editio eximia, cum Sigismundi Gelenii et Beati Rhenani notis, atque Erasmi Præfatione, A. 1535, fol. apud Frobenium. Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* tom. i. p. 196.

A. D. MDXXXVI.

ÆTAT. LXIX.

We are now come to the last year of the life of Erasmus, who this winter published his Commentary on the fourteenth Psalm, which he entitled, *Of the purity of the Christian Church*. It is in the fifth tome of his works; and it consists of allegorical interpretations, and moral reflections upon the text. He also republished his Letters, adding several which he had received from popes, from the emperor, from kings and princes, and men of high stations, to let the world see that, though despised by some and insulted by others, he had enjoyed the approbation and the esteem of the Great:

Cum magnis vixisse invita fatebitur usque  
Invidia.

He says that for some time past he had neglected to preserve copies of his own letters, because they were so numerous that his amanuenses were not able to transcribe them. Many were found after his death, and were retrieved whilst the Leyden edition of his works was carried on. It were to be wished that he had taken the pains himself to range his Epistles in a proper order.

He complains that, whilst he was revising them, he had found that within the space of ten years many of his best friends and old correspondents were dead; which made him meditate on the shortness and uncertainty of human life. Ep. 1295.

He says that Petrus Tomicius, bishop of Cracow, was dead in Poland, and Zadius at Friburg, and that all his English friends were either dead, or in a manner dead to him, through fear of corresponding with him in those dangerous times. Dangerous indeed: for in 1535 Fisher and More were executed, the monasteries were suppressed\*, and many Papists and Protestants suffered together; and in 1536 Anne Bulleyn and her brother the lord Rochford were put to death, the king's marriage with her was annulled, the English nation abounded with discontented people, and insurrections and rebellions ensued.

The later times of Henry VIII may be compared well

\* 'The monasteries suppressed in 1535 were those only that were not able to expend clearly above two hundred pounds a year. See Tanner's Notit. Monast. præf. p. 37.' Anonymus,

enough with those of the emperor Constantius, who, as Ammianus Marcellinus observes, was cruel towards all who, truly or falsely, were charged with treason. Any accusation, (says this historian) how slight soever, served to ruin a man; and his subjects were so far from daring to tell their dreams, lest they should have a treasonable interpretation put upon them, that they durst not own that they ever slept.

They, says Erasmus, who paid me pensions, now excuse themselves: but yet Thomas Cromwell, the king's secretary, and the person who is most in his favour, hath sent me, I know not why, twenty angels; the archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer<sup>1</sup>) eighteen; and the bishop of Lincoln fifteen; but none of them have sent me a letter. This he says to Gilbertus Cognatus<sup>2</sup> (Cousin) who had been his servant and amanuensis, and who was then a canon in some place of Franche-Comté.

Erasmus boasts, that amongst other benefits which he had conferred upon Cognatus, he had taken care to preserve him from the infection of the Lutherans and the Reformed. I know not, says Bayle, what might be the sentiments of Cognatus during the life of his friend Erasmus; but I dare say that afterwards he was either a Protestant, or a favourer of Protestantism. Bayle gives us no reasons for his opinion: but I find in Baluzius<sup>3</sup>, that the poor man fell under the pope's indignation, and died in a jail, for heresy.

The Adages of Cognatus<sup>4</sup> give us great cause to suspect him of Protestantism. See, amongst the rest, the chapter entitled, *Magis phantasticus quam papæ mula*.

This year Hermanus, archbishop of Cologn, held a council for reforming the church in his dominions. Afterwards he became a Protestant. Erasmus wrote<sup>5</sup> a letter of compliments to him, and received from him a courteous answer, in the year 1528. Ep. 945. 959.

See an account of this illustrious prelate in Bayle, *Wida* (*Herman de*.)

<sup>1</sup> Boissard, Icon. p. 127. Burnet, Hist of the Ref. Strype's Life of Cranmer.

<sup>2</sup> Bayle Dict. *Cousin*. Act. Erudit. xliii. 146. Maittaire, ii. 357.

<sup>3</sup> Notari quoque meretur — Pii V. breve adversus Gilbertum Cognatum, Erasmi quondam librarium, et ob hæresin in carcerem detrusum, in eoque mortuum. Act. Erudit.

<sup>4</sup> Bayle, tom. iv. p. 3100. Rem. Crit.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 400.

Seckendorf<sup>a</sup> hath given us an account of a woman who was said to be possessed with a devil, and of Luther's sentiments upon it. A. 1536.

Damianus à Goes<sup>b</sup> tells Erasmus, that, if he outlived him, he should be glad to print his works at his own expense, and to write his life. Ep. 381. c. 1771.

\* Ancilla quædam, Lebusii prope Francofurtum ad Viadrum nata, Gertrudis Fischeria, a dæmone mire vexata fuit, ut, illo suggerente, numismatibus, quoties vellet, manum replere posset, dein illa manducaret et devoraret, idque toto mense faceret; postea enim aciculas deglutivit. Promiserat ei Satan, se tantam pecuniæ copiam illi daturum esse, ut, quod in proverbio dicitur, comedere illam posset. Sexcenties id se vidisse cum plurimis sive universis, ut scribit, aliis, testatur Jodocus Willichius, professor Francofurtensis, in Commentariolo in prophetam Jonam anno 1549 scripto, quo tempore Gertrudin illam adhuc Francofurti vivere et famulari asseverat. Accitus est a superstitionis veteris tenacibus sacerdos Romanensis, ut exorcismis liberaret miseram, sed frustra fuit: post multas deinde deliberationes relatum est ad Lutherum negotium, qui sententiam suam hac epistola Eberto aperuit:

‘ Multis videntur incredibilia, quæ tu scribis, mi Andrea, et, antequam tu scriberes, cum hic narrarentur, ipse quoque putabam me audire jocum quendam aut fabulam. Sed si ita res habet, uti tu scribis, arbitrator ostentum esse, quo Deus permittat Satanam ostendere figuram et imaginem quorundam principum, qui rapiant et vorent undecunque opes, et tamen nihil proficiant. Cum ergo jocularis sit iste Spiritus, et otio suo securitatem nostram rideat, nobis primo serio pro puella est orandum, quæ propter nos cogitur ista pati. Deinde ipse Spiritus vicissim est contemnendus et ridendus, nec ullis exorcismis aut seriis tentandus, quia omnia ista ridet superbia diabolica. Sed perseveremus in oratione pro puella, et contemtu in Diabolum, et tandem, favente Christo, cessabit. Etiam bonum esset, si vitia sua, quæ hoc ostento indicantur, emendarent principes, in quibus ille nequam Spiritus significat sese potenter et secure dominari. Rogo te, quandoquidem res ista digna est evulgari, omnia velis certissime explorare, ne subsit aliquid doli: et imprimis, an moneta seu nummi, isti sint veri nummi, et usum fori sustineant. Nam ego tot fucis, dolis, technis, mendaciis, artibus, hactenus sum exagitatus, ut cogar difficilis esse ad credendum omnia et omnibus, nisi quæ ego scio me facere et dicere. Tanta est Diaboli vis, mundi malitia et hominum confidentia hodie. Quare vide et prospice tibi, ne quoque fallare, et ego per te fallar. Experto crede Ruperto, ut est proverbium.’

Ebertus, ad quem scribit,—Evangelicam doctrinam Francofurti profitebatur, et ancillam illam in cœtum suum adduci fecerat. Numismata, quorum certitudinem explorari volebat Lutherus, minutioris monetæ erant, *grossi et nummulî, groschen und pfennige*. Consilium autem Lutheri successum habuit, licet aliquamdiu reniteretur Satan, et Ebertum, cum Christi nomen invocaret, sædis proscinderet convitiis. L. iii. 136. See an Epistle of Melancthon upon the subject of dæmoniack. Epist. 572.

<sup>b</sup> Gallæi Imagines.

The Colloquies<sup>c</sup> had been prohibited at Dole by the credit of two Franciscans, as Erasmus tells Franciscus Bonvalot, to whom he was obliged for a present of wine. Ep. 1297.

At this time he was revising and printing the works of Origen, and adding a few short notes. But this work did not come forth till after his decease, with a preface of Beatus Rhenanus, containing a small abridgment of his life.

Erasmus hath given an account of Origen, and of his works, in Ep. 457. c. 1846. Towards the end of this epistle, he chooses to call Origen's *Hexapla* rather *Exapla* than *Hexapla*; upon which La Monnoye hath made the following remarks :

‘ Every one knows the true origin of the word *Hexapla* : Erasmus knew it, and yet in his Preface to his edition of Origen he chuseth rather to write it *Exapla*, because, says he, although it should seem best to say *Ἑξαπλαῶ*, with relation to the six columns ; yet since the first letter is not found with an aspirate in any manuscript, it may be better to write *Ἐξαπλαῶ*, from *ἔξαπλόω*, to intimate that the word *Ἑξαπλαῶ* comes not from the number of columns, but from this, that the volume, being unfolded and laid open, presented the whole at one view to the reader. To this it is obvious to answer, that *ἔξαπλαῶ*, for *Ἑξαπλαῶ*, in the manuscripts, is a fault ; and that, if we argue from the signification of *ἔξαπλόω*, to unfold, we may by parity of reason give the name of *ἔξαπλαῶ* to the *Tetrapla*, *Heptapla* and *Octapla*, unfolded in the same manner before the eyes of the reader. This notion of Erasmus hath found no followers, and the learned Montfaucon hath not even mentioned it in his Preliminaries to the *Hexapla* of Origen.’ Menagian. iv. p. 131.

Erasmus had been ill at Friburg, and he continued so at Basil. Rhenanus and Amerbachius say that he intended, from the preceding year, to depart from Basil to Brabant, as he had promised to Mary, queen of Hungary, who had sent him long before a sum of money to defray the charges of the journey. But, from the letters of Erasmus, it may be questioned whether he entertained such a design.

In the summer he grew worse, and the last letter which we have of his writing is dated June 28. He subscribes it

<sup>c</sup> Demiror Dolæ tantum posse duos Franciscanos. Colloquia et venduntur et excuduntur Lutetiæ, et Dola exsulant. Qui dicunt in illis aliquid esse hæreticum, sive docti sunt, sive indocti, mentiuntur.

thus: *Erasmus Rot. ægra manu*<sup>d</sup>. It is a letter to his old friend Goclenius, who had advised him to write to a lady of the house of Nassau. If you had known exactly, says he, the state of my affairs, you would have sent word to this lady, that I had been obliged to depart from Friburg on account of my bad health, with a design to go to Bezançon as soon as I had finished my Ecclesiastes, that I might still continue in the emperor's territories. But my disease growing worse, I have been obliged to pass the winter at Basil: for although I am here with my best friends, and such as I could not have at Friburg, yet because of the difference of religious sentiments, I could have been glad to end my days elsewhere. I wish Brabant were nearer at hand. Ep. 1299.

He<sup>e</sup> was for almost a month ill of a dysentery, and he saw plainly that his disease would prove mortal. He had foreseen for several months that he could not hold out long; and he foretold it again three days, and then two days before his death. Amerbachius, Froben, and Episcopius, coming in to pay him a visit, he told them that in them he beheld Job's three friends, and asked them smiling, why they had not rent their clothes, and put ashes upon their heads. The rest of his time he constantly implored the mercy of almighty God, and of Jesus Christ, without speaking of those minute devotions<sup>f</sup> that he had so much derided and blamed in the monks, and he preserved his reason to the end of his life. He died<sup>g</sup> calmly on the twelfth of July, and was buried with a great concourse in the cathedral church of Basil, where his tomb is to be seen, with a Latin inscription on the

<sup>d</sup> This subscription is omitted in the Leyden edition; but it is in *Erasmi Vita et Epist.* by Scriverius, 1649, p. 390.

<sup>e</sup> See *Rhenani Dedic. Origenis*, which is in the first volume of Erasmus.

<sup>f</sup> *Vidisses in summis cruciatibus tolerantiam mirabilem, et mansuetudinem vix credendam.—Libellum de Puritate Tabernaculi adfixus lecto scripsit, adhoc Origenem recognitum scholiis illustravit.—Sanctissime vixit, sanctissime mortuus est.* Ep. Amerbach. in tom. i.

<sup>g</sup> In many passages of his writings he declares himself no friend to auricular confession, though he speaks cautiously, after his accustomed manner.

<sup>h</sup> *Anus Morellus Grineus egerat bonam adolescentiæ partem apud Helvetios in Erasmi contubernio, cui ad Basileam clausit oculos, et honorifico carmine parentavit.* Sammarthanus, *Elog.* l. iii. p. 78. This is not Simon Grynæus.

*Erasmo ægrotanti ac morienti ad extremum usque halitum adfuit Simon Grynæus, Melch. Adam Vit. Grynæi.*

marble, of which a copy is inserted in the first tome of his works. The monks might justly have said, according to their accustomed jargon, which Erasmus hath derided more than once, that he died, *Sine crux, sine lux, sine Deus*: and they did not fail to say it.

‘A learned man was saying that Charles V, being arrived at Basil, two or three days after the burial of Erasmus, ordered his body to be taken up, and interred again with more solemnity, and assisted himself at the obsequies. I showed him that Charles was at that time preparing to enter into France, and had on this very month reviewed his army in the plain of Cony.’ Longueruana, i. 215.

John à Lasco generously offered *centum aureos*, a hundred pieces of gold, to Froben and Episcopius, to assist them in publishing the works of Erasmus. Ep. 385. c. 1775.

Erasmus had made his will in February<sup>h</sup>, in which he left handsome legacies to several friends, and the residue he ordered to be distributed by his executors, to relieve the sick and the poor, to marry young women, and to assist young men of good character, and such as they should judge to be necessitous and deserving.

With his accustomed discernment and prudence, he chose for his executors Amerbachius<sup>i</sup>, Froben, and Episcopius, men of honour, probity, and generosity, who fulfilled his orders exactly, and more than exactly, and to their own detriment, in distributing his charitable donations.

From his testament it appears, that he was not in low circumstances, nor so bad an economist as he sometimes seemed, between jest and earnest, to represent himself. We cannot too much extol the liberality of the English nobles and prelates, and of other illustrious persons, who enabled him to live decently, and to serve the public by such studies and such works as suited his own genius and inclination best. His generosity to his old friends, and his charities to the poor, were infinitely more laudable than the pretended piety of those superstitious persons, who leave their effects to monks, who are to pray to God for them after they are deceased; as if the Almighty could be sup-

<sup>h</sup> Appendix, No. xlvii.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. Amerbach. ad Paungartnerum, in the first vol.

posed to show any regard to prayers bought and sold, and sung or said after a man is in his grave!

Such was the last will of Erasmus, and thus he departed this life, aged sixty-nine<sup>k</sup>, in the arms of his dearest friends, who yet were then in the religious sentiments of Zuinglius and Oecolampadius. If it had been his lot to die in a Catholic country, he could not have escaped teasing solicitations of officious priests to make some sort of sordid retraction, or to perform some act of minute superstition, which would have tarnished his memory, and which he could not have easily shunned, if he would have received the Sacraments of the Church, and then have slept in holy ground.

He hath drawn his own character in his letters, from which we have principally collected this account of his life; and he hath performed it in so masterly a manner, that we could not have wished for better materials to work upon. He may be justly censured for one thing, for his weakness in flattering a party, whose sentiments and conduct he in many things disapproved, and in finding fault with those, whom upon the whole he resembled much more than he did their adversaries. But if he deserved some blame upon this account, they who compelled him to dissemble in this manner, who hated the very name of a reformation, and who treated as vile heretics all those who dared even to wish for some amendment, were beyond measure more blameable. There was the same difference between them and him, as between a tyrant and his poor subjects, who are obliged to humour him, that they may save their lives and effects, and to do what they would never have done, if violence had not constrained them. The overbearing master is the chief cause of all the wrong steps which they take, and hath the heavier account to give for it hereafter. If Erasmus was deficient in courage, they who took advantage of his infirmity were far more deficient in honesty and piety.

He died in a friendly and charitable disposition<sup>l</sup> towards

<sup>k</sup> Almost.

<sup>l</sup> Conradum Pellicanum, Tigurinum tunc Ecclesiasten, cum quo acriter disputaverat, comiter ab eò, dum decumberet, exceptum fuisse, rogante, ut offensas sibi condonaret, nec quicquam hostile posthac a se expectaret, Bullingeri etiam honorificam mentionem fecisse, Hospinianus annotavit. Hæc non sunt viri, qui dissentientes a Romana Ecclesia, et diversa publice docentes, pro damnatis haberet.



Pellicanus and Bullinger<sup>m</sup>, two Protestant divines, with the first of whom he had been at variance, as we have observed.

BEATUS RHENANUS<sup>n</sup> hath given us a description of his person, temper, and behaviour: and tells us that he was low

*Pietatis haud exigua documenta ex testamento ejus, tum aliis gestis dictisque circa finem vitæ colligi possunt. Seckendorf, l. iii. 137.*

John à Lasco, in a letter to Pellicanus, A. 1544, says:

— De tuo in Erasmus animo non dubitavi unquam, neque ullam inter te et illum, cum una essemus, simultatem deprehendere potui, nisi quod, cum doctrinam Oecolampadii de Cœna Domini sibi nondum satis probari posse diceret, non ferebat, si quis se cum Oecolampadio idem docere affirmasset; tametsi tu in doctrinam Oecolampadii tum propenderes, ille vero non tam damnaret illam, quam diceret potius, sibi illam nondum satis probari posse, non ideo tamen amicitiam vestram dissolutum iri putabam; præsertim cum Erasmus ipse pro sua apud me libertate, non obscure testaretur, se certam habere non posse etiam doctrinæ suæ rationem. Fatebatur enim esse quædam, quæ in sua ipsius doctrina offenderent; sed se non habere, rursus dicebat quidquam solidum, cui inniteretur, si doctrina sua sibi mutanda esset. Et proinde se in veteri sententia permanere malle affirmabat. Atque ita ego tum Erasmus reliqui: atque in eadem secum, ut verum fatear, sententia quoque fui. Nihil tamen dubito, quin Erasmus haud dubie, si nunc viveret, æquior multo nobis futurus esset. Sed habet quisque donorum suorum modum, ut non omnes possimus ubique omnia. Nostrum est de iis nobis gratulari, quæ Deus, prout vult, juxta fidei nostræ mensuram, conferre in nos dignatur. Ita et de Erasmi donis, quæ sane et plurima et maxima fuisse negare nemo potest, gratulari nobis merito, Deumque in illis agnoscere debemus. Si quid autem amplius assequuti videmur, id quoque a Domino nobis datum esse cogitemus. Quod ad illius Epistolas ad me attinet, fateor illum libere nonnunquam multa ad me scripsisse, tu enim ipse testis es, ut me amarit, ac tui quoque non rarò meminisse; sed putabat omnino te auctore id fieri, ut idem cum Oecolampadio sentire diceretur. Neque vero id tam grave erat, quam ille grave videri volebat; sed hoc ille rebus suis vehementer noxium esse putabat, et nolebat præterea nomen suum hac opinione gravari. Deinde habebat fortassis instigatores suos, quibus id potius quam Erasmo ipsi imputandum esse censeo. Vid. Hottinger. H. E. p. ii. p. 34. 36.

<sup>m</sup> Melchior Adam. See also Simon, Hist. Crit. des Comment. du N. T. p. 371. Thuanus, lib. lxi. p. 112.

<sup>n</sup> Statura fuit infra proceritatem, supra tamen prorsus notabilem humilitatem. Corpusculo satis compacto et eleganti, sed quod esset tenerimæ complexionis, et minimarum rerum mutatione, puta vini, cibi, cœlive, facile offenderetur, in senio crebris quoque calculi doloribus obnoxium: ut de pituita nihil dicam, alioqui perpetuo communique studiosorum omnium malo. Cute corporis et faciei candida, capillitio in juvenia sufflavo, oculis cæsiis, vultu festivo, voce exili, lingua pulchre explicita, cultu honesto et gravi. Fuit in retinenda amicitia constantis.

of stature, but not remarkably short; that he was well-shaped, of a fair complexion, with hair, in his youth, of a pale yellow, gray eyes, a cheerful countenance, a low voice, an agreeable elocution; that he was neat and decent in his apparel; that he had a very tender and infirm constitution, and a vast memory; that he was an agreeable companion, a very constant friend, generous and charitable, &c. Erasmus hath declared of himself that he was not fond of money<sup>o</sup>, and appeals to every one who knew him.

WE have observed in many places that Erasmus could not endure even the smell of fish, and had a most Lutheran stomach. Our learned Ascham resembled him in this, and obtained a dispensation from Cranmer.

‘ Roger Ascham, the orator of the University of Cambridge, was a man of a weak constitution, and had contracted more frailty by reason of a long ague that then hung about him, and his complexion became melancholy by the relics of that stubborn distemper. He had also in his nature a great averseness to the fish-diet. Upon these reasons he addressed his letters to the archbishop with a humble suit<sup>p</sup>, very handsomely penned, that he might be dispensed with as to abstinence from flesh-meats, Lent and fish-days being then strictly observed in the colleges. And this licence he desired might be not only temporary but perpetual,—which was somewhat extraordinary. But to incline the archbishop to yield to his suit, he told him;’ That it was not to pamper his flesh, nor out of an affectation of doing that which was unusual, or against common custom, but only for the preserving his health, and that he might the more freely pursue his studies. That the air of Cam-

*simus. Memoria felicissima. In egenos liberalis, quos, ut alibi, sic a sacro domum rediens per famulum nunquam non munerari solebat: maxime vero in bonæ spei et indolis adolescentes studiosos, si qui ad se viatico destituti venissent, largus, benignus, et munificus. In convictu comis et suavis citra omne supercilium. Vit. Erasmi.*

*Solitus (erat amicus quidam) me joco calvum dicere, quod essem raro capillitio. Erasmus, tom. i. c. 441.*

<sup>o</sup> *Nemo fuit unquam tam iniquus mei judex, ut pecuniæ studium mihi impeggerit. Fuerunt complures, qui neglectum exprobrarent. Tom. ix. c. 100.*

<sup>p</sup> It is amongst the Latin Epistles of Ascham, l. ii. p. 248.

bridge was naturally cold and moist, and so the fish-diet the more unwholesome. He desired, therefore, that by his authority he might no longer be tied by that tradition which forbade the use of certain meats at certain times. He said, that those who granted this liberty to none but such as laboured under a desperate disease, did like them who never repaired their houses but when they were just ready to fall down by age. Thrifty housekeepers did otherwise: so did skilful physicians; who did not use to prescribe their physic when it was too late, but always put a stop to beginnings. That they who never would impart the using of this liberty of eating flesh to any, but when all health was despaired of, knew not what good a prudent foresight did in all commonwealths, &c.—Then he subjoins a passage from Herodotus in his *Euterpe*, concerning the Egyptian priests, from whom issued originally all kinds of learning and arts, and who were always conversant in learned studies. These, said that author, religiously tied themselves from all eating of flesh<sup>9</sup>. No doubt for this only cause, saith Ascham, *Ne ignea vis ingenii atque præstantia, ullo frigido succo, quem esus piscium ingeneraret, extingueretur*: That the wits of men, that have a noble fiery quality in them, might not be quenched by some cold juice, which the eating of fish might engender. And that it was somewhat unjust, he adds, that when so many kinds of superstition flowed in such a plentiful measure from the Egyptians, as might easily be proved, and thence derived themselves, first to the Greeks, then to the Romans, and afterwards to our times, through that sink of popery, that single worthy counsel and remedy of those most learned men, enjoined for the enlarging and spreading of learning, should be debarred us to follow; and that by such as were either unlearned themselves, or superstitious men: whereby the best wits received so great prejudice and damage. That none knew better than his lordship whence this custom arose, by whom cherished, and by what kind of men brought down to us. And, lastly, how unwholesome and unfit all eating of flesh<sup>9</sup> was in the spring time. And that, if he might obtain this favour, he

<sup>9</sup> Flesh. It should be *fish*. Ἰχθύων δὲ ἢ σφί ἐξέστὶ πάσασθαι. De piscibus gustare nefas est illis. Herodotus ii. p. 102.

would use it without giving offence, or making any common speech of it, with quietness and silence, with abstinence and thanksgiving.

‘ This letter he got his friend Poinet, the archbishop’s chaplain (the same I suppose who after was bishop of Winchester), to put into his grace’s hand, and to further his request what he could. The issue whereof was to his heart’s desire : for though the archbishop knew him not, nor was easily drawn to dispense with the church’s antient discipline and rites, yet he received his suit with all humanity ; and such he found to be the modesty and ingenuity of the man, and what he requested to be grounded upon such reasonable and just causes, that he readily yielded to it. And whether he thought it out of his power to grant a licence of that latitude, to discharge a person, for all time to come, from the obligation of keeping Lent, or to avert the censure he might incur, if he should have done it by his own authority, or reckoning it a matter of law rather than religion, he put himself to the trouble of procuring the king’s licence under the privy seal for this man : and when he had done that, considering an academic’s poverty, he released him of the whole charges of taking it out, paying all the fees himself’.

‘ And indeed the Archbishop’s opinion concerning Lent made way for his more ready yielding to Ascham’s request ; for he held the keeping of Lent as founded in a positive law, rather than as a religious duty, and thought it necessary that so the people should be taught and instructed.’ Strype’s *Life of Cranmer*, b. ii. c. 6.

Concerning licences to eat flesh in Lent, in the year 1585, see Strype’s *Life of Whitgift*, b. iii. c. 15. p. 246.

‘ ALL the learned men of Basil’, says Möreri, ‘ carried Erasmus upon their shoulders to the cathedral church, where he was buried. If so, his coffin must at least have been as big as the bed of Og, the king of Basan, mentioned in Deuteronomy.’

In the year 1557, Farellus and Beza attacked the me-

† Ascham returns him a letter of thanks for this favour, p. 260.

‡ Bayle, *Erasme*, not. A A.

mory and reputation of Erasmus, at Basil, with much malignity and effrontery; upon which the heirs of Erasmus<sup>t</sup> treated them as they deserved, and gave them the lie in a public manner.

‘ERASMUS<sup>u</sup> was not less abused and insulted by the Catholics, both living and dead, as it may be seen in the book of Caspar Chicotius, &c.’

WE will conclude, says Le Clerc, with a symbolical representation which was exhibited before Charles V, and his brother Ferdinand, at Augsburg, in 1530, at the time when the Lutherans presented their confession of faith to that assembly.

As the princes were at table, a company<sup>x</sup> of persons offered to act a small comedy for the entertainment of the assembly. They were ordered to begin; and first entered a man in the dress of a doctor, who brought a large quantity of small wood, of straight and crooked billets, and laid it on the middle of the hearth, and retired. On his back was written the name of *Reuchlin*. When this actor went off, another entered, apparelled also like a doctor, who attempted to make fagots of the wood, and to fit the crooked to the straight; but having laboured long to no purpose, he went

<sup>t</sup> Intelleximus haud ita dudum, Farelle et Beza, hic in publico Sylvestris Hominis diversorio, ante prandium vos multis audientibus in D. Erasmum Roterodamum debacchatos: et a te nominatim, Farelle, disertis verbis Erasmum omnium mortalium deterrimum, improbisimum, nequissimum, sceleratissimum ac impurissimum nebulonem: a te vero, Beza, eundem Arianum appellatum fuisse. Id si fecistis, sique sanctæ memoriæ defuncti existimationem tot pudendis atrocibusque conviciis consulto lacerastis, nos subscripti factum vestrum improbum ac puram putam calumniam dicimus, ut qui confidamus, persuasissimumque habeamus, eum ipsum Erasmum, vere ac pro meritis, a quoquam probo, bono et integro viro ejusmodi calumniis conviciisque lacerari aut proscindi nec posse nec debere. Hæc, pro integerrimi viri memoria existimationeque tuenda, ne dissimulemus, legibus etiam civilibus admonemur. Dat. Basileæ,

Bonifacius Amberbachius, mea manu.

Hieronymus Frobenius, mea manu.

Nicolaus Episcopus.

Wetstein. Prolegom. ad N. T. p. 129.

<sup>u</sup> Bayle, *Erasmus*, not. T, and *Sawicki*.

<sup>x</sup> J. L. Fabricius de *Ludis Scenicis*, p. 142.

away out of humour, and shaking his head. On his back appeared the name of *Erasmus*. A third, dressed like an Augustinian monk, came in with a chafing-dish full of fire, gathered up the crooked wood, clapped it upon the fire, and blew till he made it burn, and went away, having upon his frock the name of *Luther*. A fourth entered, dressed like an emperor, who seeing the crooked wood all on fire, seemed much concerned, and to put it out drew his sword, and poked the fire with it; which only made it burn the brisker. On his back was written *Charles V*. Lastly, a fifth entered, in his pontifical habit and triple crown, who seemed extremely surprised to see the crooked billets all on fire, and by his countenance and attitude betrayed excessive grief. Then looking about on every side, to see if he could find any water to extinguish the flame, he cast his eyes on two bottles in a corner of the room, one of which was full of oil, and the other of water; and in his hurry he unfortunately seized on the oil, and poured it upon the fire; which made it blaze so violently that he was forced to walk off. On his back was written *Leo X*.

This little farce wanted no commentary: but if the merry actors had taken it into their heads to represent the whole conduct of Erasmus, they should have introduced him a second time, and have represented him as constrained by the menaces of Leo X to take up the straight wood, and burn it along with the crooked.

I FIXED the birth of Erasmus to the year 1467, trusting almost implicitly, I confess, to Bayle, to Le Clerc, and to many others; but I find no reason to depart from this date, which is as probable as any other. Upon this computation, Erasmus lived sixty-eight years, eight months, and some days, *i. e.* he was in his sixty-ninth year, or almost sixty-nine complete.

The year of his birth is uncertain: Erasmus himself knew it not, and in his letters sets it sometimes higher and sometimes lower, from 1464 to 1467; and in one of his letters declares himself uncertain whether he was of such an age at that time, or a year older.

In his Compendium of his own Life, he names not the year of his birth, but only the month and the day.

In the inscription of the statue at Rotterdam, he is said to be born October 28, 1467; and to have died July 12, 1536. This I think will justify our choice; and it seems not improbable that his fellow-citizens, who erected this monument to his memory, might find the year of his birth or baptism in some record, public or private.

The Epitaph composed by his friends and executors says that he died in 1536, *jam septuagenarius*. This is a vague expression, and may suit a man who died almost seventy or almost seventy-one years old. But it agrees not with the inscription of the statue; it places his birth A. 1466 or 1465.

Erasmus, in a letter to Cursius<sup>y</sup>, dated Jan. 9, 1535, says that he was seventy years old: but nothing can be collected from this, since there is great reason to suspect that the letter is spurious.

Du Pin is of opinion that we can only fix the time of his birth to 1465, or 1466, or 1467.

Dr. Knight (pag. 3) says that he was born in the year 1467, on the eve of St. Simon and Jude; and (pag. 349) that he died on the 12th of July 1536, having lived seventy years, eight months, and fifteen days. Dr. Knight forgot himself; and these two accounts will not tally together. Other writers have made the very same mistake.

As the year of the birth of Erasmus, so the day of the month seems also to be uncertain. Erasmus, in the Compendium of his own Life, says that he was born *in Vigilia Simonis et Judæ*, that is, October 27: but in his poem to Copus<sup>z</sup>, he says that he was born on the fifth of the calends of November, that is, October 28. Perhaps he had been told that he was born October 27, at midnight, and so was in doubt on which day to fix it.

‘ NOTHING hath made the city of Rotterdam more famous than her having given birth to the great Erasmus: nor hath she been insensible to this honour, or in the least degree deficient in duty and respect to the memory of the illustrious person from whom she hath received such splendour.

‘ If Homer had been as much esteemed during his life, as

<sup>y</sup> Ep. 1276. See above, p. 59.

<sup>z</sup> See vol. i. p. 24.

after his decease, in vain would so many cities have claimed him; for the true parent would have made her title to him clear and indisputable, before length of time could have furnished rival cities with matter for contest and chicanery. Therefore we find none of these litigations concerning the birth-place of Erasmus. The great reputation which he enjoyed in his lifetime hath prevented them. Rotterdam was soon attentive to her own interests, and so fully established her rights, and the reputation annexed to them, that she is in secure possession. Indeed there was no time to lose: length of years would have involved in darkness a birth like his, since his mother, a person of ordinary rank, had repaired to Rotterdam, on purpose to conceal her lying-in. As to the place of his conception, it must be surrendered to the town of Tergou, which also accounts this no small advantage. How much greater would this advantage have been, and more to be boasted of, if this conception had not been sullied with a double original sin! or rather with actual added to original sin! There was a burgomaster of Tergou, who attempted to honour his own city with the nativity of Erasmus, and to allow Rotterdam only the credit of his education. This man was a physician, called Reynerus Snoyus, who had several good posts, who wrote several books, and who had been a friend of Erasmus. Val. Andreas Desselius, in his *Bibliotheca Belgica*, says that he had perused this attestation of Snoyus amongst the papers belonging to the monastery of Stein, where Erasmus had resided many years. But to little purpose hath Snoyus affirmed this, and deposited his false testimony in the registers of the convent of Stein: all the world is firmly persuaded that Erasmus is not a native of Tergou, but of Rotterdam. Here is a full acknowledgment of it<sup>a</sup>; made by the interested parties, and contained in a letter of the burgomasters and counsellors of Tergou, inserted in a Description of the Low Countries; translated from the Italian of Guicciardin.

<sup>c</sup> In the library of Tergou they show a head of Erasmus, which may pass for a public monument of this city's renunciation to all pretences of being the birth-place of Erasmus;

<sup>a</sup> Oriundus etiam hac urbe magnus ille Desiderius Erasmus, Goudæ enim conceptus et utero gestatus, Roterodami, quo cum ad pariendum vicina esset mater se certa de causa contulerat, in lucem editus est.



for the legend which is round the head testifies that he was conceived at Tergou, and born at Rotterdam.

‘Almeloveen hath lately renewed the dispute of these two cities<sup>b</sup>, by a curious incident. He pretends that Erasmus is rather a burges of Tergou than of Rotterdam, because, according to the laws, the place where children are born accidentally is not accounted their country. If a woman, upon a journey, is brought to-bed in a town where she hath no design to remain, and if she hath a fixed habitation elsewhere, her child is not reckoned a citizen or burges of that town, but belongs properly to the place where his parents have a settlement. Upon these principles, Erasmus should rather have been called *Goudanus* than *Rotterdamus*; for his parents dwelt at Tergou; and if his mother was not delivered of him at Tergou, but at Rotterdam, it was by accident. She absented herself to hide her fault, and was concealed for a few days in a neighbouring city, till she had deposited a burden, which to her disgrace she carried in her bosom<sup>c</sup>.

‘I shall observe by the way, that some French authors, founding their pretensions on a most antiquated right, I mean, on the old geography, and the division of Gaul mentioned in Cæsar’s Commentaries, have claimed Erasmus for a countryman. Robert Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, in his *Historia Gallix*, hath said expressly that France is the country of Erasmus. Erasmus hath thrown out something to favour this pretension, having said sometimes that he belonged to Gaul; and speaking of the honour which the learned Budæus did to France, he claims a share in it<sup>d</sup>, as being himself a Frenchman. This excited the jealousy of some Germans, who, as Erasmus informs us<sup>e</sup>, humbly besought him not to suffer France to deprive them of their right to him. His answer, expressing much affection for literature, and no less modesty, amounts to this, that he

<sup>b</sup> In his *Amœnitates Theologico-Philologicæ*.

<sup>c</sup> See a letter of a lawyer called Costerus, written to Almeloveen upon this subject, and inserted in his *Amœnitates*.

<sup>d</sup> Et pristinam illam laudem nostræ asseras Gallix. Nihil enim vetat eundem ditione Germanum esse, et veterum cosmographorum descriptione Gallum.

<sup>e</sup> Ne patiar ut Gallia sibi me asserat, sed ingenue fatear Bataviam esse Germanix partem, videlicet ne tanta gloria fraudetur.

was born in the confines of Gaul and Germany<sup>f</sup>, yet a little nearer to the former than to the latter. Therefore in another letter he says, that he will neither affirm nor deny that he is a Frenchman<sup>g</sup>, accounting it an ambiguous point.

‘ The city of Rotterdam hath testified her regard to Erasmus in the following manner :

‘ 1. The house in which he was born is adorned with an inscription<sup>h</sup>, to inform both natives and strangers of this illustrious prerogative.

‘ 2. The college, where Latin, Greek, and rhetoric are taught, bears the name of Erasmus, and is consecrated to him by the inscription on the frontispiece.

‘ 3. A statue of wood was raised to him in the year 1549.

‘ 4. In its stead a statue of stone was erected in the year 1557. The Spaniards having thrown it down in 1572<sup>i</sup>, the inhabitants set it up again as soon as they were delivered from this tyranny.

‘ 5. They erected<sup>k</sup> one of copper in 1622<sup>l</sup>, which is admired by the skilful. It is in an open part of the city, by the side of a canal, upon a pedestal adorned with inscriptions, and surrounded with iron rails. If the materials of these different statues advanced in intrinsic value, Erasmus had this in common with the deities of antient Rome; for not only the offerings made by private persons<sup>m</sup>, but those

<sup>f</sup> An Batavus sim non mihi satis constat. Hollandum esse me negare non possum, ea in parte natum, ut, si cosmographorum picturis credimus, magis vergat ad Galliam quam ad Germaniam, quamquam extra controversiam est totam eam regionem in confinio Galliae Germaniaeque esse.

<sup>g</sup> Gallum esse me nec assevero, nec inficior; sic natus ut Gallusne an Germanus sim anceps haberi possit.

<sup>h</sup> See Knight, p. 1, 2.

<sup>i</sup> Verheiden, in his *Elogia*, says that the Spanish soldiers, who were in garrison at Rotterdam, did not proceed to this act of violence, till they were irritated by a Spanish monk, who in his sermons inveighed against Erasmus; and that the magistrate did not set up the same statue again, but caused a new one to be made.

<sup>k</sup> Quenstedt is mistaken in thinking that it was made of marble.

<sup>l</sup> Bronze.

<sup>m</sup> Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus: at tu  
Si fœtura gregem suppleverit, aureus esto. Virgil.

Fictilibus crevere Deis hæc aurea templa. Propertius.

of cities and of nations, were at first of low price, and afterwards of a more expensive kind.

‘ There are few travellers, who, relating what they had seen in the United Provinces, have not spoken of the statue of Erasmus. Joli, a canon of Paris, having mentioned this statue, and the house where Erasmus was born, adds, that ‘ the great reputation of the man hath made these two ‘ things the most memorable curiosities of the city, though ‘ small in themselves; and yet in reality they cannot be ‘ called inconsiderable, since Sebastian Munster<sup>n</sup> relates in ‘ his *Cosmography*, that Philip, king of Spain, son of the ‘ emperor Charles V, going to Rotterdam in the month of ‘ September, and the year 1545 [It is a mistake; and it ‘ should be 1549], this statue was erected, to honour his ‘ joyful advent, and that they put into the hand of Erasmus ‘ a poem in honour of this prince, to be presented to him; ‘ and that afterwards the king, and Mary queen of Hungary, and all the princes who attended them, inflamed ‘ with a love for the memory of so illustrious a person, paid ‘ a respectful visit to the house, and to the chamber in ‘ which he was born.’

‘ Monconis, in his *Voyages*, says not so much: he only mentions the posture of the statue, and gives the inscriptions on the small house where Erasmus was born. But Bullart confirms the relation of Joli; for he says that ‘ when ‘ Philip II made his solemn entry into the city of Rotterdam, ‘ as sovereign prince of the Low Countries, the senate placed, ‘ as its greatest ornament, the statue of Erasmus, before ‘ the house in which he was born, dressed in an ecclesiastical habit, holding a pen in the right hand, and with the ‘ left presenting to the prince a roll, in which was written:

‘ *Serenissimo Hispaniarum Principi D. Philippo a Burgundia*  
‘ *Desiderius Erasmus Rotterodamus.*

‘ *Rotterodamus ego non inficiabor Erasmus,*

‘ *Ne videar cives deseruisse meos.*

‘ *Ipsorum instinctu, Princeps clarissime, salvum*

‘ *Ingressum precor ad limina nostra tuum:*

‘ *Atque hunc, quo possum studio, commendo popellum,*

‘ *Maxime, præsidiis, Cæsare nate, tuis.*

<sup>n</sup> Fuit imago Erasmi ad vivum expressa, adveniēti (Philippo) opposita, quæ exserto brachio gratulatorium carmen Principi offerebat.

‘ Te Dominum agnoscunt omnes, te Principe gaudent,  
 ‘ Nec quicquam toto charius orbe tenent.’

‘ Observe, that Joli might have cited a more authentic author for this story, than Sebastian Munster, namely, a Spanish Relation of the Voyage of Don Philip prince of Spain, composed by Juan Christoval Caluata de Estrella. Note also, that in 1672, the populace having risen in most of the towns of the province of Holland, Rotterdam was some days at the discretion of these rioters; and during this anarchy, the statue of Erasmus was taken down, as an object that resembled popery, and was carried into the town-house, and it was in deliberation whether it should be melted down. The magistrates of Basil, as soon as they heard of it, ordered some merchants of their city to desire a correspondent of theirs at Rotterdam to buy the statue at a certain price. He accordingly made his proposals, and had almost agreed for it, and come up to their demands. Having given an account of his negotiation, he received a new commission to pay the magistrates of Rotterdam all their demand. But, during this interval, they had thought better of it, and resolved that they would neither melt nor sell the statue, but put it in its place again; and this was done some time after. The merchant, who was thus employed by the magistrates of Basil, told me the story two days ago.

‘ I find few writers, who, having occasion to speak of the life of Erasmus, do not mention the glory which he cast upon his own country. Thus Verdier Vau-Privas and Bullart begin their Eloges of this child of Rotterdam. The words of Rhenanus on this subject, addressed to the emperor Charles V, are so elegant and expressive, that they well deserve to be cited °. I could produce abundance of authors, who to exalt the glory of Rotterdam join these two things together: the one, that she is the country of the great Erasmus; the other, that she hath erected a statue to his memory.’ Bayle, *Rotterdam*.

° Natus est, abavi tui Friderici III. Aug. primis imperii annis ad quintum calend. Novembris, Roterodami in Hollandia tua inferioris Germaniæ Provincia, quam olim Batavi possederunt, nunc magis notam studiosis omnibus ob unius indigenæ Erasmi incunabula, quam veterum incolarum memoria quamlibet bellico robore præstantium. Hoc alumno Roterodamum oppidum semper se jactabit, et doctis erit commendatum.

‘ THE clergy of Rotterdam had a party amongst the senators, as well as among the people, many of whom, some say to the number of three hundred, entered into an association,—not to return any more to the communion, till the *Idol* was removed, for so they called the image of Erasmus,—at which Leuwius had a fling in his sermon. An image of wood had been erected by the magistrates of that town, in the year 1549, and placed on the arch of the stone bridge, in honour of that illustrious man, who was born there. Afterwards, in 1557, it was changed from wood to a fine blue stone; but the Spaniards, animated by a certain monk of their nation, shot it down with their musquets, and threw it into the water. However, the Spaniards being driven out of the town, the said image was set up again by order of the magistrates, where it stood till another was cast of copper or brass, at the public charge, which was not quite finished and exposed to view till the year 1622. It was a masterpiece of wonderful art, upon which the famous architect and statuary Henry de Keiser had bestowed his utmost skill and pains. It was rather bigger than the life, nobly habited in a gown, and was represented turning over the leaves of a book. The honour done him by this statue was extremely disagreeable to those who hated his memory, and especially his prudence and moderation in religious matters, particularly to some bigoted contra-remonstrants, who used all their interest with the magistrates to prevent the setting up of this image; and indeed they prevailed so far, that it would have been taken down again, if those who were for retaining it had not carried their point in the senate by two votes only. Upon this the clergy began to inveigh publicly against the image. It was given out that some of the simple people bowed the knee before it; that they made a new saint of Erasmus; that his image occasioned scandal to weak minds, and might possibly give encouragement to the popish practice of image-worship.—After this the zealots, how much soever scandalized at it, were forced to bear with the statue.

‘ The famous poet Joost vanden Vondel wrote the following verses upon this statue of Erasmus :

- ‘ Whatever wisdom Greece and Rome conceal’d,
- ‘ Erasmus to the Christian world reveal’d :

' Thus to himself he gain'd immortal fame,  
 ' And grac'd his native city with his name.  
 ' Proud of the glory by his merit won,  
 ' The grateful city to her godlike son  
 ' A statue rais'd aloft of solid stone,  
 ' Whilst Envy strove to hurl him from the throne.  
 ' Fruitless attempt ! No storms of envious breath  
 ' The Hero move, triumphant ev'n in death.  
 ' Immortal garlands do his temples grace,  
 ' And time adds beauty to his rev'rend face.

' Tho' once but stone, in burnish'd brass his features shine:  
 ' If Envy storm at this, gold shall our Saint enshrine.'

Gerard Brandt, *Hist. of the Ref.* vol. iv. p. 359.

' The Contra-remonstrants hated the memory of their countryman Erasmus, as much as they did the persons of Grotius and Episcopius, and wanted to have his statue pulled down. They could not bear the sight of this hero, even in brass: it had the same effect upon them, as Statius supposes the image of Hercules to have had upon the Argives:

' Haud illum impavidi, quamvis et in ære, suumque  
 ' Inachidæ videre decus.'

Theb. vi. 272.

Six Dissertations, p. 108. 1st edit.

UPON the decease of Erasmus<sup>p</sup>, some vile wretches (if we may believe Melchior Adam) who had interest in the emperor's court, represented him as one who died a Lutheran and Heretic; and said that his will ought to be set aside, his effects confiscated, and his works prohibited. They would have carried their point, if Mudæus<sup>q</sup>, once a disciple of Erasmus, an eminent lawyer, and much in favour at court, had not put a stop to their attempt.

<sup>p</sup> Carolus V Cæsar, ejusque soror Maria, Belgii gubernatrix, hunc (Mudæum) principem habuerunt ingenii et doctrinæ; hujus sæpe consilium quæsierunt, plurimumque ejus prudentiæ tribuerunt. Itaque cum Stellionum quorundam calumniis, et dolo malo, nihil propius esset factum, quam ut Erasmi, tanquam hæretici et Lutheranismi immortui, bona, licet piis causis relicta, rescisso testamento honestissimo, publicarentur, et monumenta ab ipso edita, edicto Cæsaris proscripta, de manibus studiosorum excuterentur, Mudæi unius auctoritate et consiliis tam fœda Reip. literariæ clades est aversa. Vit. Mudæi.

<sup>q</sup> See vol. i. p. 233, not. y.

‘Tapper’ and his associates, at Louvain, caused all the versions of the Scriptures to be condemned, the Vulgate excepted; and endeavoured to have all the works of Erasmus destroyed, but could not succeed in the attempt, being crossed by the president of Brabant, and the bishop of Arras, &c.’

ERASMUS<sup>s</sup>, says Bayle, at first, did not care to sit for his picture<sup>t</sup>; but he conquered that aversion, and was frequently drawn by Holbein. Beza made this epigram, to be put under his picture, which Bayle hath justly censured, as a piece of false wit:

‘Ingens ingentem quem personat orbis Erasmus,  
 ‘Hic tibi dimidium picta tabella refert.  
 ‘At cur non totum? mirari desine, lector,  
 ‘Integra nam totum terra nec ipsa capit.’

It is hardly good enough for a school-boy.

Charles Patin hath given us an account of the pictures of Erasmus<sup>u</sup> done by Holbein.

<sup>r</sup> Bayle, *Tapper*.

<sup>s</sup> Cum de se dicit in Vita Erasmus: ‘Ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, vixque extortum est amicorum precibus, ut se pingi pateretur;’ hoc ita accepit Bælius (Rem. S.) displicuisse Erasmo deformitatem suam: at ille modo se negabat *φιλαυρον*, aut Suffenum aliquem. Præcedunt proxime verba: Neque quidquam unquam scripsit, quod ipsi placeret: quod nemo ita accipit, illum offensum scriptorum suorum deformitate. Quod reliquum est, nihil minus quam deformem fuisse, Holbeniana imago ostendit. De religione Erasmi, qui post Bælium disputarint, memorantur. [Addi his potest B. Fabricii nostri exercitatio critica de religione Erasmi, in opusculorum illius sylloge recusa 1738, 4to.] Remarques sur le Dict. de Bayle. From the *Relationes Gottin-genses*, vol. iii. fasc. i. p. 103.

<sup>t</sup> Il n'étoit guere content de son visage.

<sup>u</sup> Imago obliqua seu *κατάγραφος* Erasmi scribentis Paraphrasin in Evangelium D. Marci, manu variis annulis ornata. In *Bibliotheca Acad. Basil.*

Imago ejusdem minor circularis. In *Bibliotheca Acad. Basil.*

Imago Erasmi, in Museo Feschiano.

Effigies Erasmi a Le Blond emta Basileæ ducatis aureis centum, quam postea delatam in Belgium inde accuratissime justa magnitudine in æs incidi curavit, Wischeri chalcographi opera. Tabulæ huic ferreis ligamentis juncta erat ad dextram effigies Jo. Frobenii. Has duas tabellas sine dubio Erasmus in gratiam et honorem Frobenii, quem impense amabat, fieri curavit, atque eidem dono obtulit; unde dextram illi cessit.

‘ERASMUS had dwelt longer at Basil<sup>x</sup> than at any place. He delighted in that city : sometimes he made an excursion, but he failed not to return back ;

‘ ——— Hic illius arma,  
‘ Hic currus fuit.’

‘ The revolution in religion was the only cause that hindered him from fixing his tabernacle there for all his days. At Basil they show his house in which he died ; and the place where the professors of divinity read their winter-lectures is called the College of Erasmus. His cabinet is one of the most considerable rarities of the city : it contains his ring, his seal, his sword, his knife, his pencil, his will written with his own hand, his picture by Holbein, which is a master-piece. The magistrates bought this cabinet in 1661, for nine thousand crowns, of the descendants of Bonif. Amerbachius the heir of Erasmus. If we may believe Patin, they made a present of it ; but, as another traveller says, they sold it to the University for a thousand crowns.’ Bayle, *Erasme*, not. H.

Opinor hasce duas effigies Erasmi et Frobenii eas esse quas in cimeliario Regio Londini observasse memini, anno 1672.

Erasum sæpius ab Holbenio pictum, et in Galliam, Angliam, aliaque loca delatum fuisse, ex illius epistolis liquet.

Effigies Erasmi in Thesaurò Cæsareo. Vindobonæ.

Imago Erasmi scribentis, forma minori. In pinacotheca R. Christianissimi. Erasmi Op. t. iv. c. 394.

\* Many of the (Protestant) fugitives took up their residence at Basil (in 1554) upon two reasons : one was, because the people of that city were especially very kind and courteous unto such English as came thither for shelter : the other, because those that were of slenderer fortunes might have employment in the printing-houses there, the printers in Basil in this age having the reputation of exceeding all others of that art throughout Germany, for the exactness and elegance of their printing. And they rather chose Englishmen for the overseers and correctors of their presses, being noted for the most careful and diligent of all others. Whereby poor scholars made a shift to subsist in these hard times. Strype's *Life of Cranmer*, p. 356.

Multa hic commoda.—Cœlum salubre, urbs amœna,—typographorum ad manum prompta facilitas, loci claritudo : nec dubito quin si laboris non pigeat, nobilium adolescentulorum catervam brevi collecturus sis, e quibus non parum tibi utilitatis. Habuit hoc perpetuo Basilea, ut doctis gratissima fuerit civitas. Quid putas Erasum hic detinet ? invenisset sane et aibi locorum typographos. Oecolampadius, *Epist. ad Grynæum*. Vide Gerdesium *Hist. Evang. Renov. t. ii. Append. p. 144.*



THUANUS, in his travels, was courteously received by Amerbachius<sup>y</sup>, in whose hands was the library, and other things once belonging to Erasmus.

BAYLE hath observed of Erasmus, that he had rather too

<sup>y</sup> Basilius Amerbachius, vir humanissimus, ad quem commendatitias a Franc. Pithæo, ut et ad Theodorum Zuingerum, literas habebat Thuanus, a latere ejus nunquam discessit. Ante omnia ei in propriis ædibus D. Erasmi bibliothecam et adversaria manuscripta, tum nummos antiquos, aliamque modicam suppellectilem Vito parenti ab ipso legatam ostendit, in eaque globum terræ argenteum, cælatura et miniatura egregium, a Tigurino quodam aurifice factum, quem dum curiosis oculis inspicit, medio eo aperto vinum utrinque infusum est, et more gentis Thuaniano propinatum. Thuani Vita, l. ii. p. 20.

Erasmus's and Amerbach's Museum belong to the University (of Basil), which purchased them for nine thousand dollars from the heirs of Holbein the latter. Amongst other things are twenty admirable originals of Holbein, as Lucretia, Venus and Cupid, Erasmus, Amerbach, Holbein himself, the Institution of the Lord's Supper, but more especially the dead Body of our Saviour, for which piece alone a thousand ducats have been offered. In the library are a great number both of manuscripts, and old coins and medals, of the latter no less than twelve thousand, together with many other curiosities of art and nature, as paintings, ———. Keysler's Travels, vol. i. p. 139.

Extract from a letter written to the reverend Mr. Wetstein from Basil, by Mr. Professor Burcard, 1758.

Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Reliquiæ in Bibliotheca publica Basiliensi et Museo exstantes.

Scholia in DD. Hieronymi Epistolas, manu propria.

Epistolæ aliquot autographæ.

Expostulatio ad amicum quendam de Eucharistia.

Judicium de Libero Arbitrio et de Fide.

Ex Plutarcho quædam in linguam Latinam translata. Autographa.

Testamentum Erasmi autographum.

Epistolium ad Lud. Berum, præpositum Basiliensem, cum librum suum de Libero Arbitrio ad eum mitteret.

Diploma Academiæ Taurinensis, quo S. Theologiæ Doctor renunciatus est, cum sigillo.

Breve Pontificis Rom. Leonis X ad Erasmum.

Erasmi annulus aureus cum gemma Terminum præferente.

Nummus aureus primæ magnitudinis cum imagine Sigismundi Regis Poloniæ. In aversa parte inscriptio: Desiderio Erasmo Roterodamo Sigismundus Bonar.

Alius secundi moduli cum imagine et insignibus Sigismundi Bonar Castellani Ozarnoinensis.

Imago Erasmi in rotunda tabella ab Holbenio depicta.

Alia major ejusdem imago ab eodem picta.

Encomium Moriæ primæ editionis, cum figuris Holbenii manu appictis.

Sigillum plumbeum cum Terminum et inscriptione, Cedo nulli: quo in signandis literis ordinario utebatur.

much sensibility, when he was attacked by malicious and inconsiderable adversaries<sup>2</sup>, made too many complaints of them, and was too ready to answer them. It is true. He wanted some friend to overrule him, and to say to him, ‘ Let those men alone : they cannot live in their own writings ; and why should they live in yours ? ’ Yet thus much may be observed, by way of excuse, that he was fighting for his honour, and for his life, being often accused of nothing less than heterodoxy, impiety, and blasphemy, by men whose forehead was a rock, and whose tongue was a razor. To be misrepresented, as a pedant and a dunce, this is no great matter ; for time and truth put folly to flight : to be accused of heresy by bigots, hypocrites, politicians, and infidels, this is a serious affair ; as they know too well, who have had the misfortune to feel the effects of it.

The celebrated Peter Ramus never replied to the invectives of his numerous adversaries ; and the writer of his Life<sup>2</sup> mentions it as an instance of his uncommon patience and prudence.

LE CLERC had sometimes observed, that Erasmus was not recompensed suitably to his deserts ; and that is true enough. But yet, if we consider how many presents<sup>b</sup>, and invitations,

<sup>2</sup> Ut canes loca mundiora vestigant, ubi immingant; ita isti non temere in ullum genus hominum maledicam linguam solvunt, aut virulentum stylium stringunt, nisi in quibus aliquid invidiosum esse suspicantur. Jos. Scaliger.

<sup>a</sup> Adversus contumelias doctorum quamlibet et eruditorum hominum perpetuum silentium juraverat. Nil Goveano, Gallandio, Peronio, Turnebo respondit: nil ingenii et doctrinæ per universam Germaniam principi Melanchthoni respondit. Cumque divulgatis per orbem terrarum Gallica et Latina lingua probris esset notatus, publicis ludis ignominiosissime tractatus: constricta lingua, vinctis manibus prohibitus quicquam de philosophia vel publice vel privatim dicere, scribere, cogitare etiam (si menti tantum potuisset imperari) prohibitus esset: adversus tantas tot acerbitatum plagas, unicum patientiæ remedium adhibuit, in animoque semper illud habuit;

Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora.

Freigius Vit. Rami. Bayle, *Ramus*, not. L:

<sup>b</sup> Nec solum a principibus honoratus est Erasmus; sed etiam a civitatibus Germaniæ. Nam si qua transiret, idque magistratus rescisset, vino fuit donatus: qui honor magnatibus et civitatum legatis, more gentis, impenditur. Melch. Adam, Vit. Erasmi.

and favours he received, and how many he refused, and how little inclination he had for ecclesiastical preferments, more of which he might have obtained, we cannot well place him amongst the *Infelices Literati*<sup>c</sup>.

THE style of Erasmus is that of a man who had a strong memory, a natural eloquence, a lively fancy, and a ready invention, who composed with great facility and rapidity, and who did not care for the trouble of revising and correcting; who had spent all his days in reading, writing, and talking Latin; for he seems to have had no turn for modern languages, and perhaps he had almost forgotten his mother-tongue. His style therefore is always unaffected, easy, copious, fluent, and clear; but not always perfectly pure, and strictly classical. He hath been censured, as a dealer in barbarisms, by persons who not only had not half of his abilities and erudition, but who did not even write Latin half so well as he.

His verses are plainly the compositions of one who had much learning and good sense, and who understood prosody, or the technical part of poetry; but who had not an

Ingressus domum (Erasmii) putare potuisses te videre ædes aliquas superborum olim Corinthiorum, adeo ornate cælatiis auratisque operibus instructum abacum vidisses. Ne vero etiam sordide parcum fuisse credas. Splendore ædificiorum est delectatus: Friburgi namque contulisse ad impensam domus à se constructæ plus mille aureos numimos fertur. In reliquis autem sumtibus faciendis, nonnulli nimium diligentes et accurati æstimatores rerum volunt ipsum minimæ quam nimix liberalitati propiorem fuisse. Sed quam ii perverse judicent, facile advertet, cui Erasmi conditio fuerit aliquanto exploratior. Erasmus paucis admodum redditibus vivebat; plerumque sustentabatur liberalitate Principum et Bibliopolarum, quibus forte operam navabat. Deinde infirmum illud et valetudinarium corpusculum singulari quadam et exquisita curatione indigebat, quam nequeat adhibere, cui non abunde facultates suppetunt.—Nam qui intolerabili calculi et vesicæ dolore per omnem vitam laboraret, lauta et diligenti curatione opus habebat.—Renum vesicæque morbi malitiam in eo gravabant tussis et podagra.—Accedebat senectus ipsa per se morbus habitus. Accedebant insuper quotidianæ vigiliæ et nocturnæ lubricationes.—Cæterum Erasmus, qui omnes notiones naturæ suæ exploratas meditatasque haberet, certa quadam et artificiosa victus ratione mederi sibi didicerat.—Guil. Insulanus Orat. Funebr. in Obitum Erasmi, t. x. c. 1856.

<sup>c</sup> Benserade would have said,

J'en connois de plus miserables.

equal elegance of taste, and an ear for poetical numbers. So that upon the whole he is rather a versifier than a poet, and is not to be ranked amongst the Italian poets of those days, Sannazarius, Fracastorius, Vida, &c. many of whom wrote better than any of the antients, except Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, and a few more.

ERASMUS used to dine late<sup>d</sup>, that he might have a long morning to study in. After dinner he would converse cheerfully with his friends about all sorts of subjects, and deliver his opinions very freely upon men and things. So says Milichius, who was a student at Friburg, and there had the pleasure of being well acquainted with Erasmus.

ERASMUS made frequent use of the flesh-brush, and recommended it to his friends:

Hac frictione quotidie utens hoc tempore, mane præsertim, Erasmus, tueri se incolumitatem valde imbecillis aliqui corporis putat; meque obnixè monet ut faciam, ac studiosos præterea omnes. Sequor amici suasionem, et juramentum sentio. Huttenus apud Burchard, Vit. Hutt. tom. iii. p. 152.

ERASMUS, in the earlier part of his life, carefully studied the Greek and Latin grammar, read lectures upon them, and translated Greek books into Latin. This was laying a right foundation for criticism and philology<sup>e</sup>; and it is

<sup>d</sup> De Erasmi privata ac domestica consuetudine, ac sermonibus, multa narrare fuit solitus Jacobus Milichius cum magna voluptate: quomodo diurnas operas partiri, et ut matutino tempore rebus seriis vacare commodius posset, veterum more, tardius prædare: inde vel amicis sese edere, vel obambulare, et inter obambulandum, vel colloquiis suavibus e invitare ad hilaritatem atque oblectare, vel ea recitare solitus sit, quæ ex ore ejus excepta, postea Familiarium Colloquiorum titulo prodierunt. Cum censuras referret, quas Erasmus in efflorescentia sub id tempus ingenia Germaniæ suo more, et pro ea qua valuit autoritate liberius agere consueverat, aiebat illum de Philippo Melanchthone adolescente affirmasse, quod in quamcumque artem nervos ingenii intensus esset, in ea omnes summos artifices esset superaturus: Hac voce Erasmi aiebat. incensum fuisse cupiditate Philippi visendi. Melch. Adam. Vit. Milichii.

<sup>e</sup> Quo minus sunt ferendi, qui hanc artem [grammaticam] ut tandem ac jejunam cavillantur: quæ nisi oratori futuro fundamenta fideliter jecerit, quicquid superstruxeris, corruet: necessaria pueris, jucunda seni-

much to be wished, that our young students of promising abilities would, in some measure, follow his example. Be you ever so ingenious and industrious, yet if you neglect to cultivate and to preserve this humble part of knowledge, you will be perpetually stumbling, when you tread on classic ground, when you attempt to explain, to translate, or to correct antient authors, or to discuss any learned subject, or to compose a few pages of Latin in prose, or in versè. Then beware of blunders; and think not to make amends for them by insulting and ridiculing grammarians<sup>f</sup>, scho-

bus: dulcis secretorum comes: et quæ vel sola omni studiorum genere plus habet operis quam ostentationis, &c. Quintilianus i. 4.

<sup>f</sup> Quand on vouloit meapriser Monsieur Cujas, on l'appelloit Grammaïrien; mais il s'en rioit, & disoit que telles gens estoient marris de nê l'estre pas. Scaligeran.

Utinam essem bonus grammaticus; sufficit enim ei, qui auctores omnes probe vult intelligere, esse bonum grammaticum. Porro, quicumque doctos viros grammaticos *pour tout potage* vocant, sunt ipsi indoctissimi; idque semper observabis. Scaligeran. p. 116. 176.

Dorpius, writing against Erasmus, represented himself as a divine, and Erasmus as a grammarian. Sir T. More replies to him:

Quanquam grammatici nomen, quod tu frequentius quam facetius irrides, Erasmus, opinor, haud aspernabitur; imo, ut est modestus, quanquam meretur maxime fortassis, nec agnoscet tamen.—Quod si tu eos tantum grammaticos esse vis, quos ais ferulas sceptrorum vice gestantes in antro plagoso regnare, &c. ego, medius fidius, mi Dorpi, etiam eos, quanquam procul ab disciplinis esse concesserint, tamen aliquanto propius accessisse puto, quam theologos illos, qui et structuram orationum et voculas ipsas ignorant: ex quo genere, et ego aliquot, et tu, ut opinor, plures (quanquam uterque sedulo dissimulamus) agnoscimus: Epist. ad Dorpium.

Quid est quod tam procul a sacris ablegamus grammaticos, de divinis literis aliquanto melius meritos, quam sint frigidi quidam ac jejuni dialectici, ne dicam sophisticæ? Erasmus ad D. Marcum, viii. not. 23.

Rideat qui volet has grammatarum annotationes, modo fateatur terque quaterque theologos in his labi. Tolerabile, si tantum laberentur, nisi lapsui jungerent impudentiam calumniandi.—Quanto melius ageretur cum re theologica, si qui theologiam absolutam profiterentur, a linguacibus et grammatistis comiter acciperent, quod illi pro sua qualicumque portione conferant in medium; et illis vicissim illa sublimiora mysteria fraterne communicent, hoc majore modestia, quo penitus ingressi sunt in ejus philosophiæ penetralia, quæ dedocet fastum omnem et supercilium, summamque docet tolerantiam erga imbecilles? Ad D. Lucam, i. not. 53.

Qui tam indoctas nœnias evulgant libris, miro supercilio objurgant, miro fastu insultant ac tantum non triumphant, rectius facturi, si disce- rent interim Græcæ Latinæque grammatices rudimenta. Ad 1 ad Corinth. x. 16.

liasts, commentators, lexicographers, verbal critics, word-catchers, syllable-mongers, and poachers in Stobæus and Suidas.

‘It is no wonder that no bookseller could be found, who would venture to print the Commentary of Meziriac upon Apollodorus. The taste for this kind of erudition is entirely extinct; and if Meziriac were to return to life in these days, he might stay long enough at Bresse before he would receive an invitation to be a member of the French academy. The same qualifications which formerly procured him that honour would now suffice to exclude him. It was not the politeness of his style, or the beauty of his verses, which made him accounted worthy of being an academician, for in this respect he was inferior to most of the fraternity; but it was his reputation for learning, and the proofs which he had given of a vast erudition. Times are altered: no re-

In his ne turpiter hallucinentur hamaxiæi doctores, et colosseï theologi, præstant illi monogrammati grammatistæ, ac pygmæi theologi. Advers. Sutorem, t. ix. c. 765.

Et quoniam per saltum, ut aiunt, doctor factus est Bedda, redeat ad necessariam grammaticam et Latinam et Græcam, ex cujus inscitia toties gravem calumniam intendit proximo, toties non intelligit auctores qui Latine scripserunt, ut de Græcis taceam. Ne pudeat sero discere, quod scire necessarium est. Advers. Beddam, t. ix. c. 698.

Nec te grammaticas opus est ediscere nugas,  
Et tetricis languera scholis, tantum elige gnomas  
Priscorum e libris—nec te vox barbara turbet,  
Aut temere erumpens lingua titubante solæcus:  
Tot sanctos oppone patres: mysteria sacra  
Turpe est grammaticis submittere colla capistris.

Buchanan. Franciscan.



I remember to have met with a passage in a certain writer, which is not at all favourable to the grammarians. It runs thus:

Ἐμοὶ πρὸς φιλοσόφους ἐστὶ φιλία: πρὸς μὲν τοὶ σοφιστὰς, ἢ γραμματιστὰς, ἢ τοιοῦτο γένος ἕτερον ἀνθρώπων κακοδαιμόνων, ὅτε νῦν ἐστὶ φιλία, μῆτε ὑπερὸν ποτε γένοιτο.

‘My friendship I bestow upon philosophers: as to sophists, little grammarians, and such sort of scoundrels and cacodæmons, I neither have nor ever will have any regard for them.’

The man abhors grammarians, it seems; and grammars too, I suppose. But who is the author of this bit of Greek? An extraordinary person, I assure you; a projector, a visionnaire, a linguist by inspiration, a crack, a conjurer—in short, *Apolonius Tyanensis*. He is the man; and the grammarians account it no disgrace to be vilified by a *mountebank*.

gard is paid to an author who perfectly understands mythology, Greek poets and scholiasts, and by this knowledge can clear up difficulties in chronology, geography, grammar, &c. Not only compositions without the least uncture of literature are preferred to the works of such an author, but he is treated as a mere pedant: and this is the sure way to discourage all young men who have talents for the study of humanities. There is something odious and contemptible in the very name of pedantry; and who would take pains to acquire nothing besides scorn and infamy by becoming very learned, and appearing to be well versed in the works of the antients? Nothing hath more contributed to bring literature into contempt, than the custom which the wits and the fine geniuses, real or pretended, have taken up to condemn, as school-learning and pedantry, citations from Latin and Greek authors, and philological remarks. They have been so unjust, as to deride even those scholars who had, besides erudition, a politeness and a knowledge of the world,—Costar for example. Had they been contented to ridicule those who, to make a parade of their reading, cite a Plato, a Varro, and an Aristotle, either to prove nothing at all, or to confirm something which no man ever denied, and which every man knows, they had not done amiss: but with disdainful airs and insolent scoffs they have banished from the polite world all those who dared to show that they had made collections from the antients; they have laughed at the Costars, and even at those letters of Voiture which are sprinkled with Latin. These censures have had the more effect, because there is something plausible in them; and it is certainly true, that men should be more careful to polish their mind, and to form their judgment, than to load their memory with the remarks and the sayings of other people. The more truth there is in this maxim, the more it charms and seduces the conceited, the superficial, and the lazy, and incites them to turn to ridicule every thing that is called erudition. Perhaps at the bottom, the principal motive is to depreciate the goods of their neighbours, with a view to enhance the value of their own: for, if one was to say to them, ‘You condemn such and such authors for citing Latin and Greek: lay your hands upon your heart, and tell me whether you would not do the same if you were able;’ we

should put their sincerity to a hard trial.—Now things are come to such a pass (that is, A. 1700) that, as we are informed, the bookseller at Paris, who designs to print madam Dacier's Translation of Homer, dares not join the original to it, lest the very sight of Greek should discourage and disgust his customers.—Judge by this of the reigning taste, and conclude that the Commentary upon Apollodorus would be hissed off the stage at Paris. It contains too much erudition.' Bayle, *Meziriac*, not. C.

IN Erasmus we behold a man, who in the days of his youth, lying under no small disadvantages of birth and education, depressed by poverty, friendless and unsupported, or very slenderly supported, made his way through all these obstacles, and, by the help of bright parts and constant application, became one of the most considerable scholars of the age, and acquired the favour and the protection of princes, nobles, and prelates, of the greatest names in church and state.

Every man of letters must not indulge the vain hope, though he should be as learned, as ingenious, and as industrious as Erasmus, to be as much favoured and encouraged as he was.—But this is not a sufficient cause to deter any person from a studious life. Learning is in many respects its own reward; learning applied to useful purposes, and adorned with good manners. Without these, though it may be of some service to the public, it will be of small comfort to the possessor.

'After personal merit (says Bruyere), it must be confessed that high stations and pompous titles are the principal and the most splendid marks of distinction: and he who cannot be an *Erasmus* must think of being a *bishop*.'

The high stomach of the learned Joseph Scaliger †, and his resentment against the age in which he lived, made him

† *Monstrorum pater est hoc seculum. Nemo non vult haberi doctus: nemo tamen vel labro tenus bonas literas degustavit.—Puduit me magni cujusdam viri, magnique in theologicis nominis, qui ignorat, quæ puerum nescire nefas esset. Ego totum me literis dedidi, quum eæ vigerent, et maximi in illis florent viri, quorum exemplo quivis ad eas excitari posset. Nunc non mirum est juventutem has artes contemnere, ad quarum amorem nullius exemplo excitatur. Ego tamen, quem tam ingra-*



talk in a manner beneath himself, when he advised all parents to keep their children from literature, and to turn them entirely to occupations more lucrative, and more respected by the world. Such sentiments did not become either the prince of the republic of letters, or the prince of Verona.

As for the writer of the Life of Erasmus, if he may be permitted here to speak of himself, and to throw away a few lines upon such a subject, he hath no cause to wish that he had followed other occupations. Not to his erudition (for many things have concurred to hinder him from making any considerable progress in it), but to his constant love and pursuit of it, he owes his late patron; he owes several worthy friends still living, ONE in particular; and a situation and station, better than he expected, and as good as he ought to desire.

Of all the theological works of Erasmus, his Paraphrases<sup>a</sup> were best received, and met with the least opposition. Yet our good bishop Gardiner inveighed vehemently against them.

‘As to Erasmus’s Paraphrase, Gardiner pretended that he found divers things in it to condemn the work; and that he agreed with them that said, Erasmus laid the eggs, and Luther hatched them; and that of all the monstrous opinions that have risen, evil men had a wondrous occasion ministered to them from that book. He said he might term it in one word *Abomination*, both for the malice and untruth of much matter out of Erasmus’s pen; and also for the arrogant ignorance of the translator of it; considering that book was authorised by the king, and a charge laid upon the realm of twenty thousand pounds, by enjoining every parish to buy one: whereof he had made an estimate by the probable number of buyers, and the price of the book. He

tum seculum a virtute deterrere poterat, non committam, ut hoc exiguum vitæ quod mihi superest, in iis studiis non transigam, in quibus primam pueritiam exegi. Nulli tamen auctor fuerim, ut liberis suis plus temporis in literis ediscendis indulgeat, quam quantum Latinæ linguæ percipiendæ satis est; ut inde ad aliud institutum vitæ sese conferat, quod melius audiat, et fructuosius sit, quam literarum studium, quo hodie nihil despiciacius, nihil inutilius. Epist. ad Gruterum, p. 794.

<sup>a</sup> Above, p. 120. 384.

charged the translator with ignorance both in Latin and English ; a man, he said, far unmeet to meddle with such a matter, and not without malice on his part.—

‘ In vindication of the learned author of the Paraphrase, so bedashed by Gardiner, I will here use the words of him that writ the Epistle Dedicatory before the translated Paraphrase on the Acts :

“ I cannot but judge, that whoso are prompt and hasty condemnors of Erasmus, or eager adversaries unto his doctrine, do, under the name and colour of Erasmus, rather utter their stomach and hatred against God’s word and the grace of the Gospel, which Erasmus for his part most diligently and most simply laboureth to bring to light.”

‘ And to such as said that his doctrine was scarcely sincere, and that he did somewhat err, he answered ;’

“ That Erasmus, forasmuch as he was a man, and so esteemed himself, would that his works should none otherwise be read or accepted, than the writings of other mortal men. And that, after his judgment, a little trip among so many notable good works for the interpretation of Scripture, and for the help of the simple, should rather be borne withal, than so many good things to be either rejected, or kept away from the hungry Christian reader. It is a cold charity that can bear with nothing ; and an eager malice it is, that for a trifle, or a matter of nothing, would have the ignorant to lack so much good edifying as may be taken of Erasmus<sup>1</sup>.” Strype’s Life of Cranmer, b. ii. c. 3 ; and Appendix, No. xxxvi. p. 77, containing Gardiner’s frivolous and malicious remarks against Erasmus.”

I HAVE been asked whether I would decide the question, *What was the religion of Erasmus ?* In one respect, I account myself qualified for the undertaking ; for I am unprejudiced, and have nothing to bias me. But I think it best to leave the reader to judge for himself, and to make his inferences from the premises. Therefore I shall only observe, that Erasmus, if he had had an absolute power to establish

<sup>1</sup> Leo Judæ Erasmi in Novum Testamentum Paraphrasim eximiam prorsus, atque auro gemmisque pretiosiore, in linguam Germanicam transferre ferrea prorsus industria suscepit, occultato licet proprio nomine. Gerdesius, Hist. Evang. Renov. tom. i. p. 109.

a form of religion in any country, would have been a moderate man, and a latitudinarian, as to the *credenda*. He would have proposed few articles of faith, and those with a primitive simplicity. This system indeed would have been highly disagreeable to the men who enjoy no comfort in believing, or in pretending to believe, what they think fit, unless they can vex, harass, and torment all those who will not submit to their decisions.

Erasmus hath been accused of Arianism by many ecclesiastics; he hath also been claimed as an Arian by Sandius<sup>k</sup> and others. Yet it is certain that he denied the charge, and that he expressed himself often upon this subject like those who were called orthodox. I began to mark the passages which show this, but was soon weary of the work. They are to be found quite through his fifth volume<sup>l</sup>, and in many other places.

And yet Erasmus said enough<sup>m</sup>, and more than enough, to make himself suspected by violent and unreasonable men. He gave up some passages of Scripture, which had been, and are now frequently urged against the Arians, and which prove nothing besides the ignorance, disingenuity, or prejudices of those who make use of them: he said, that Arianism was rather a faction and a schism than a heresy; that the Arians surpassed their adversaries in learning and eloquence; that they were skilful in the knowledge of the Scriptures; that they might be good men, and in the favour

<sup>k</sup> Erasmum non solum ministri Sarmatiæ et Transsylvaniæ probarunt eum sensisse; sed et Bellarminus, Possevinus, alique volunt eadem eum cum Arianis sensisse. Hoc sane constat infinita eum scripsisse in favorem Arianorum, et plurima loca Scripturæ, quæ contra Arianos allegantur, suis explicationibus penitus enervasse. Præfatione (ni fallor) in tertium tomum operum Hieronymi admodum scripsit in gratiam Arianorum; scilicet, ut memini, Arianos seculo quarto, numero, præstantia, moribus et eruditione potiores fuisse Homoousianis, adeo ut Ecclesia fuerit dubia, in quas partes potius inclinaret. Dictum quoque mihi est, eum alicubi scripsisse: 'Cum Arianis sentirem, si Ecclesia id fecisset.' Sandius, Nucl. Hist. Eccl. p. 423. See also his Appendix ad Nucl. p. 84.

<sup>l</sup> Tom. v. c. 472. 475. 480. 483. 494. 510, 511. 526. 532: 535. 601. 836. 903. 914. 939. 1011. 1037. 1057. 1073. 1139. Tom. ix. c. 171. 414, &c.

<sup>m</sup> See above, p. 127. Ep. 329; above, p. 182. Ep. 478; above, p. 204. Ep. 525; above, p. 261, &c. Ep. 613. Tom. ix. c. 270. 273. 275.

of God, notwithstanding their error; that Arius and his followers were ill used by the Consubstantialists; that creeds ought to be drawn up with simplicity; that the Christians in the fourth century did wrong to insert the word *ὁμοούσιος* in the Nicene Creed; that the Apostles Creed was sufficient; and that the Athanasian Creed, unless very favourably interpreted, was rather heterodox than orthodox.

He also defended the doctrine of Subordination; he thought that the Son, though of the same *nature* with the Father, yet, *personally* considered, was lesser than the Father, and inferior to him, as the Father was the fountain of divinity, from whom the Son and the Spirit received their being and their perfections.

If he could have seen the Confession of Faith <sup>a</sup>, presented

<sup>a</sup> A. 1544, Merindoliani et Caprarienses in Venasciniensi comitatu, sub patrocinio olim Dominorum de Cabrera habitantes, existentesque reliquæ Albigensium, sequentem fidei suæ confessionem obtulerunt Francisco I, regi Galliæ, quam a majoribus quasi per manus acceperant, abhinc anno post Christi incarnationem 1200, quemadmodum ex omni memoria ætatum atque temporum a veteribus intellexerant. Eadem legitur in Caroli Molinæi monarchia Francorum, quæ in Latinum ex Gallico versa ita sonat:

CREDIMUS unum tantum esse Deum, qui spiritus est, rerum cunctarum conditor, Pater omnium, super et per omnia, in nobis omnibus, adorandus in spiritu et veritate, quem solum expectamus, datorem vitæ, alimentorum, indumentorum; prosperæ item valetudinis, infirmitatis, commodorum et incommodorum: hunc diligimus tanquam omnis bonitatis auctorem, et ceu cordium inspectorem timemus.

Jesum Christum credimus esse Patris filium et imaginem, in quo omnis plenitudo deitatis habitat, per quem cognoscimus Patrem, qui noster et mediator et advocatus, nec ullum aliud sub cælo nomen hominibus datum est, per quod servari nos oportet. In hujus nomen solum invocamus Patrem: nec ullas preces effundimus coram Deo, præter eas quæ in Scriptura sacra continentur, aut cum ejusdem sensu plane conveniunt.

Credimus nos habere consolatorem Spiritum sanctum, a Patre et filio procedentem, cujus inspiratione precamur, et efficacia regeneramur. Is in nobis omnia bona opera efficit, atque per eum in omnem deducimur veritatem.

Credimus unam sanctam Ecclesiam omnium electorum Dei a constitutione ad finem mundi congregationem, cujus caput est Dominus noster Jesus Christus. Hanc Verbum Dei gubernat, Spiritus Sanctus ducit. In ea sinceri Christiani omnes versari tenentur: pro omnibus enim indesinenter orat, grata Deo ad quem confugit, et extra quam nulla est salus.

Illud apud nos est constitutum, ministros Ecclesiæ, episcopos nempe et pastores, in moribus et doctrina irreprehensibiles esse debere: alioquin deponendos, aliosque substituendos, qui eorum locum et officium impleant. Nemo autem hunc sibi honorem assumat, nisi a Deo vocatus, ut

to Francis I by the poor persecuted remains of the Albigenses, or Valdenses, he would probably have approved it; and the learned reader will, I dare say, be pleased to find it here.

I HAVE produced many testimonies of Erasmus in favour of Warham; to which I here add a very elegant<sup>o</sup> enco-

Aaron, gregem Dei pascens, non turpe affectans lucrum, vel ut clericis dominans, sed prompto animo exemplum piis præbens, in sermone, conversatione, charitate, fide et castitate.

Reges, principes, et magistratus confitemur a Deo institutos esse ministros, quibus parendum sit: nam gladium gestant, ut innocentes tueantur et malos puniant. Propterea honorem eis deferre, tributaque persolvere tenemur. Nullus autem ab hac obedientia sese eximere potest, si modo Christianus dici velit, Jesu Christi Domini et Salvatoris nostri exemplum sequens. Is enim tributum persolvit, nec jurisdictionem dominationemve temporalem usurpavit, in statu illo humiliationis gladium verbi cœlestis exserens.

Credimus aquam in baptismi sacramento esse signum visibile et externum, nobis repræsentans illud, quod virtus Dei intus in nobis operatur, nempe spiritus renovationem, et in Christo Jesu carnis nostræ mortificationem: per quem etiam Christum sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ membra effici-mur, in qua fidei nostræ professionem et vitæ emendationem demonstramus.

Sanctæ mensæ vel cœnæ Domini nostri Jesu Christi sacramentum, credimus esse sacrum memoriale, et gratiarum actionem ob beneficia per Christi mortem nobis collata, in cœtu piorum, in fide, charitate, sui-que ipsius probatione celebrandam: et ita panem et poculum sumendo Christi carni et sanguini communicare, sicuti in sacris Scripturis edocemur.

Conjugium esse bonum, honorabile, sanctum, et a Deo institutum profitemur: nemini prohibendum, nisi verbum Dei intercedat.

Pies et Deum timentes credimus Deo se probaturos, ut bonis vacent operibus, quæ præparavit, ut in eis ambulent. Hæc autem opera sunt charitas, gaudium, pax, patientia, benignitas, probitas, modestia, temperantia, aliaque opera in Scripturis commendata.

Contra, fatemur cavendum nobis esse a pseudopropheta, quorum scopus est populum ab adoratione religiosa, uni Deo et Domino debita, revocare, creaturis adhærere et confidere; bona opera in Scripturis mandata relinquere, et hominum figmenta sequi.

Regulam fidei nostræ Vetus et Novum Testamentum retinemus, Symbolumque sequimur Apostolicum. Quisquis autem dixerit, nos aliam profiteri doctrinam, longe eum falli et fallere demonstrabimus, si modo per judices ordinarios nobis liceat. Sandius, Hist. Eccl. p. 425.

°—Inter tot egregias dotes, quibus principem ac præcipue episcopum præditum esse oportet, non alia [est] qua vel ornatur decentius, vel commendetur efficacius, quam morum et ingenii lenitas ac mansuetudo, quæ fere non nisi eximiam probitatem et insignem sapientiam tum comi-

mium, taken from his notes on 1 Thess. ii. 7, and well deserving to be attentively perused by those who ought to imi-

tari solet, tum arguere. Vulgaris aut ficta probitas suum habet fastum, suum habet supercilium, et sibi plus æquo indulgens, ut alienarum virtutum est maligna æstimatrix, ita vitiorum alienorum acerba insectatrix est. Quamquam autem hujus laudis prima secundum Christum gloria penes Paulum nostrum est, qui quum cæteros omnes omnibus et dotibus et officiis apostolicis longe præcurreret, tamen unus apostolorum esse sese velut ignorabat, hoc sese gerens submissius, quo major esset: tamen his quidem temporibus neminem novi, qui propius ad hanc laudem accedat, quam ille meus, imo non meus, sed totius Insulæ Britannicæ Mæcenas Guilielmus Warhamus,—in quo cum nihil sit, quacumque contempleris hominem, quod non eximum ac maximum esse iudices, tamen haud alia re major videri solet, quam quod modis omnibus maximus, solus ipse magnitudinem suam non agnoscat. Quo fit ut cum cæteris virtutibus superet etiam maximos, hoc uno nomine superat et seipsum, quod sibi magnus non est. Si quis expendat dignitatis fastigium, si negotiorum molem et amplitudinem, si iudicium pene divinum, si vim ingenii incomparabilem, si eruditionem undiquaque absolutam, si vitæ puritatem, si fortunæ splendorem, quem pro temporum ac regionis consuetudine tolerat verius quam habet, ne inter summos quidem ullum invenies, quem cum hoc ausis conferre. Rursum sic obvius et expositus est omnibus, ut vix reperias vel in media plebe, inter infimæ sortis homines, quem hic non antea comitate, facilitate, mansuetudine. O mentem vere heroicam et apostolico viro dignam cum humanum prætergressus sis modum, teipsum in ordinem redigere, ac ne infimum quemquam hominem fastidire! Aliis paululum eruditionis cristas erigit. Aliis imaginum splendor animos effert. Sunt quibus vita castior supercilium adducat. Neque desunt, quos mediocris etiam auræ fortuna sustollat, neque sui sinat meminisse. Hic semper in omni doctrinæ genere summas tenuit, ut qui ingenio longe felicissimo, quod naturæ Deique munere configerat, studium adjunxerit indefatigabile. Deinde in gravissimis simul ac splendidissimis regni Regisque negotiis toties ac tot annos versatus est, idque non sine summa laude, tum pietatis, tum prudentiæ. Nunc denique, ceu mirificus quidam Geryon, tergeminum heros suæ præstat universæ Britannicæ, Archiepiscopum ac Primatem, Cancellarium, et Mæcenatem; Archiepiscopum religioni, Cancellarium justiciæ, et reipublicæ Mæcenatem studiis. Quis est tanto animi robore præditus, qui non sub herum uno quolibet sudet anheletque, quæ vir ille solus sustinet? præsertim qui prorsus intelligat quid quisque titulus efflagitet. Siquidem Archiepiscopi Primatisque titulus, quem vir ille sanctissimus Thomas suo martyrio reddidit augustiorem, illud exigit, ut quod Romanus Pontifex universo debet orbi, hoc ille universæ præset Britannicæ. Jam Cancellarii munus summum et incorruptum totius regni iudicem requirit, et ad quem omnibus sit aditus, Laicis pariter et Clericis, a quo tamen nulla jam sit appellatio. Quas hic negotiorum moles, quos causarum fluctus uno ab homine sustineri putas? Ut ne vocem interim ad hanc rationem neque pauca neque mediocria curarum pondera, quæ ex regni accedunt negotiis; ut domesticas sollicitudines dissimulem, quas in tam numerosa familia non mediocres esse consentaneum est. Et tamen unum illud

tate the good qualities of this illustrious prelate and statesman.

pectus tot rebus obeundis non solum sufficit, verum etiam superest. In tam immenso circumstrepentium negotiorum agmine suppetit quod tribuat religioni, quod privatis amicorum affectibus, quod evolvendis libris, quos adeo non fastidit, ut cum nullis amicis confabuletur libentius, quoties a publicis functionibus otii nonnihil suffurari licet. Nimirum hoc illi tribuit admiranda quædam naturæ felicitas, et incredibilis ingenii dexteritas, hoc iudicium non minus acre quam promptum et expeditum, hoc diutinus rerum usus, super omnia vero perpetua quædam vitæ sobrietas ac vigilantia. Ne minima quidem ætatis portio datur alexæ, nulla voluptatibus, nulla conviviis, nulla somno, imo naturæ quoque nonnihil detrahit, quod adjiciat juvandæ patriæ. Hac ratione fit, ut et tempus, et ætas jam alioqui grandior, et valetudo tot tantisque negotiis obeundis, sustinendis, exantlandisque sufficiat, quibus ne decem quidem alii pares esse possint. Jam fieri non potest, quin in tam varia negotiorum turba quædam existant non ingentia solum, sed etiam molesta periculosaque. Quandoquidem non temere dictum est illud, *Ne Jovem quidem placere omnibus*. At hunc nemo vidit tristem, nemo commotum, nemo vultuosum: tanta est infatigati pectoris vis et constantia. Tum æquitas ac suavitas tanta, ut ab hoc victi discedant æquioribus animis, quam a nonnullis solent victores. Sibi perpetuo tranquillus est, aliis comis et alacris. Jam vero Mæcenatis personam, quam ultra suscepit, ita tuetur ac sustinet, ut Insula semper viris et opibus pollens, olim religione nobilis, nunc optimis item literis ac disciplinis, hujus potissimum opera sic effloruerit, ut nulli regioni cedere debeat, seu Græcæ pariter ac Latinæ literaturæ peritiam requiras, seu spectes eloquentiæ vires, seu mathematicorum acumina, seu reliquam philosophiæ cognitionem, seu literarum arcanarum mysteria. Unus alit plurimos, evehit plerosque, favet, fovet, ornat, ac tuetur omnes, non solum eximios, sed et mediocres, nec suos tantum, sed externos etiam et quovis sub cœlo natos. Quorum in numero me quoque, quantuluscumque sum, esse voluit illius benignitas. Cujus beneficentiæ, quanquam alias quoque profusæ et exundanti, illud etiam geminam addit gratiam, quod vix unquam admoneri sese patitur, rogari nunquam. Quin et gratias agentem mox interpellat, velut hoc ipsum nimium sit, eum, qui summo sit affectus beneficio, verbis agnoscere quod accepit. Abunde sibi relatam gratiam putat, si studiis profuit, si bene cessit omnibus quod ille de suo privato contulit munus. Et quemadmodum non jactat, si feliciter provenit benignitas, ita negligit ac ceu non meminit, si quando secus evenit. Quandoquidem fieri non potest, quin et id accidat nonnunquam ei, qui propensus sit ad bene merendum de omnibus. Judicio adsciscit quos velit fovere, sed eo sane candido et amico magis quam severo. Cæterum quos semel complexus sit, constantissime fovet, nec ullis invidorum obtreactionibus potest alienari. Quas si quando cogitur audire, mire dissimulat, id quoque studens, ne vel ad eum perveniant, quem petunt, ne quid illius contristetur animus. Cujusmodi Mæcenas si mihi primis illis contigisset annis, fortassis aliquid in bonis literis esse potuisssem. Nunc natus seculo parum felici, cum passim impune regnaret barbaries, præsertim apud nostrates, apud quos tum crimen etiam erat quicquam bonarum literarum attigisse, tantum

**THIS VOLUME\*** was almost printed off, before I could procure The Life of Erasmus by M. de Burigni. As soon as it came into my hands, I gave it an attentive perusal, imagining that I should receive instruction upon some points relating to our subject; and in this expectation I have not been deceived. Yet I think I can add with truth, that few very considerable things are contained in his book, which are not taken notice of either in this volume, or in the next which I have for some time been preparing for the press. How indeed should it be otherwise, since we both draw from the same spring, and employ nearly the same materials?

As to religious matters, it is not to be expected that a Frenchman, who is a member of the church of Rome, and of the royal academy at Paris, and an English protestant, should think or should speak alike. Those passages in Erasmus, which the first calls *temeraires, hazardées*, rash, daring, imprudent, offensive to pious ears and to pious stomachs, are, in the opinion of the second, the most agreeable and useful remarks of our illustrious author, and do him the most honour. The zealous Romanists will perhaps think

aberat ut honos aleret hominum studia, in ea regione, quæ Baccho Cæterique dicata tum esset verius quam Musis; quid, quæso, poteram ingenio vix mediocri præditus? Nam clarissimum virum Henricum Berganum Episcopum Cameracensem, primum studii mei Mæcenatem, more invida præripuit. Huic proximum Guilielmum Montejovium, inclytum Angliæ Primatem, aulæ negotia bellique tumultus interceperunt. Quamquam, ut vere dicam, huic ipse defui potius, quam ille mihi. Per hunc denique contigit summus ille Cantuariensis, sed provectori jam et ad quadragesimum devergenti annum. Et tamen hujus excitatus benignitate, in literarum studiis veluti repubui reviguique; et quod nec natura dederat, nec patria, hoc hujus dedit benignitas. Habent hoc mortalium ingenia, habent hoc studia literarum, præsidem aliquem ac ducem desiderant, qui suppeditet otium, qui addat animum, qui tueatur adversus excetram invidiæ, quæ non aliter quam umbra corpus sequitur eruditionis gloriam: denique ad cujus judicium suas exigant vires, cui suas consecrent vigiliis. Vidit hoc, opinor, prudens antiquitas, quæ Musis Virginibus suum præfecit Apollinem. Proinde sicuti vere dictum est Græcorum proverbio, *Annum fructificare, non arum*, quod cæli clementia plus afferat momenti ad segetis proventum, quam soli bonitas, ita Principum benignitas est, quæ facit ingeniosos. Nulla regio tam barbara, tam procul a solis equis, ut ait Maro, devergens, quæ non habeat dexterrima ingenia, quæ vel in media Græcia nata videri possint, si non desint Mæcenates. Sed dum harum rerum cogitatione teneor, haud scio quo modo pene operis instituti immemor, diutius quam par est, immoror digressioni. Proinde ad id quod agitur recurrendum.

\* i. e. Vol. I. ed. 4to.



that even M. Burigni is half-spoiled by keeping bad company, and that here and there he smells a little of *Erasmianism*. And indeed virtue and wisdom, like vice and folly, are contagious; and a man may catch the spirit of moderation and freedom, as well as the spirit of persecution and bigotry, by conversation with men and with books.

I shall here give a small extract from M. Burigni, as a kind of supplement to the foregoing pages. If in the next volume I should also select a few remarks from his book, as perhaps I may, it shall not be without citing him, and making proper acknowledgments.

In his preface he mentions those who have drawn up the Life of Erasmus, or given imperfect sketches of it, as Erasmus himself, Beatus Rhenanus, Merula, Malincrot, Mercier, Bizardiere, Knight, and Joli. He observes that what Malincrot and Joli had written upon Erasmus hath never appeared.

Bayle and Du Pin might have been added to these persons; and Le Clerc still more, whose account of Erasmus, given in the *Bibliothèque Choisie*, and in prefaces to several tomes of Erasmus, surpasseth by far, in my opinion, all that hath been hitherto published upon that subject.

The short and cold mention which he hath made of Knight, and his referring in the margin to the *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*, give room to think that he never perused, and perhaps never saw this book; and that he contented himself with a meagre account from a journalist. Dr. Knight's work is indeed confused, and not over-elegant; but it contains many good materials.

Tom. I. pag. 6.

M. Burigni places the birth of Erasmus on the 27th or 28th of October, 1465; yet observing at the same time that the year is uncertain.

I. 47.

'Henry à Bergis was bishop<sup>p</sup> (not archbishop) of Cambray.'

I. 102.

'Erasmus composed a poem in honour to Henry VII, in hexameters, and in iambics, & à trois pieds.'

<sup>p</sup> See above, p. 4.

This poem<sup>a</sup> consists of an hexameter and an iambic verse alternately; and the iambic verses are *iambi trimetri*, that is, of *three measures* indeed, but of *six feet*; not of *three feet*, *à trois pieds*.

I. 115.

‘Erasmus took his voyage to Italy in 1560.  
He is<sup>r</sup> in the right, I believe.

I. 124, and 436.

‘Erasmus, whilst he was in Italy, had some young pupils; but in a letter, which he wrote many years after his departure thence, he complains that his evil genius had almost engaged him to perform that office at Bologna.

‘*Quod ad juvenes attinet, scito me a nullo instituto semper fuisse alieniorem, quam exceptandis aut curandis adolescentibus: quanquam Bononiæ malus genius meus propemodum involverat illi reti.* Epistola manuscripta, de Basle, 1528. 8 Paschæ, Francisco Asulano. †

‘This letter hath never been printed: it was communicated to me most obligingly by cardinal Passionei, &c.’

M. Burigni had done well if he had given us this and all such letters entire.

I. 133.

‘Erasmus, in a letter to Franciscus Asulanus, says; *Nec oblitus sum nostræ pristinæ consuetudinis; nec, si velim oblivisci, sinat calculus, quem istic primum collegi, meque subinde repetens, Venetiæ commonefacit.* De Basle, 15<sup>o</sup> Cal. Aprilis, A. 1523.

‘This letter is not printed: cardinal Passionei did me the favour to communicate it.’

I. 143.

‘The library<sup>s</sup> of cardinal Grimani, next to that of the pope, was at that time the most considerable of Rome. (Ughellus, Italia Sacra.) It contained eight thousand volumes. He was himself a man of erudition, and translated into Italian a treatise of St. Chrysostom.’

<sup>a</sup> Tom. i. c. 1215.

<sup>r</sup> Above, p. 25.

<sup>s</sup> Above, p. 27.

## I. 145.

‘ Erasmus at Rome composed his *Querela Pacis*. Julius II, being informed of this declamation, and having sentiments very different from those of Erasmus, sent for him. It was not without fear that he presented himself before this imperious and violent pontiff: but he came off with a gentle reprimand, and an advice never to meddle with the affairs of princes.’

## I. 324.

‘ It<sup>u</sup> is somewhat strange, says the last editor of St. Cyprian, that Erasmus should have inserted amongst the works of this father a book, which he had found, entitled *De duplici Martyrio*, wherein mention is made of Diocletian, and of the Turks. Gravius and Pamelius are inclined to think that Erasmus himself composed this book, to delude the public. But the judicious Tillemont, though not at all prejudiced in favour of Erasmus, justifies him, and says that Erasmus had too much sense to make a work which carried in itself its own confutation.’

Tillemont here follows Du Pin, whom see tom. iii. p. 173. and Tillemont, tom. iv. p. 196.

## I. 352.

‘ There were four editions of the New Testament of Erasmus, during his life.’  
There were five<sup>x</sup>.

## I. 372.

‘ Edward Lee was an *Ecossois*, a Scot, a master of arts in the university of Louvain.’

Lee<sup>y</sup> was born of English parents, in Kent, and educated at Oxford and at Cambridge. See Ant. Wood, tom. i. c. 60, and the authors whom I have cited.

Erasmus, in his first Apology, in answer to Lee (which is not published in the collection of his works), says, *Neque*

<sup>u</sup> Vol. i. p. 28.

<sup>x</sup> *Ibid.* p. 285.

<sup>y</sup> Vol. i. p. 180.

<sup>z</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

*vero Leus gente Scotus est, etiamsi illic non de gente, sed de auctore loquor, unde Scotistæ dicuntur.*

It appears from Lee's *Apologia*, that he had dwelt at Louvain.

I. 401. .

‘ Erasmus sent <sup>z</sup> Adrian his project to re-establish peace in the church. This interesting work is not extant, unless it be the 649th letter ; and that letter is not entire. But it may be conjectured that he advised the correcting of abuses and grievances, and the granting the cup to the laity, and marriage to the clergy, and every thing that could be yielded without hurting the fundamentals of christianity.’

M. Burigni's conjecture is ingenious and judicious.

I. 419.

‘ Otho Brunsfeld had prefixed to one of his libels a picture of Erasmus, under which was the name of *Baal*.’

I have not seen Brunsfeld's book ; but I believe<sup>a</sup> that Erasmus was pictured there amongst the priests of Baal.

I. 450.

‘ Erasmus<sup>b</sup>, before he would fix at Friburg, went to take a view of it, once in February, and once in March, of the year 1529. It is probable that in one of these voyages he had the favourable reception, described in a letter of Falaix, in *Crenii Animad.* The magistrates, the nobility, and the university went forth to meet him, paying him high compliments, and calling him the supporter and the protector of literature. The magistrates presented him with a cup elegantly wrought : the college gave him a girdle embroidered with gold, and not inferior to the cup ; and when he departed, some gentlemen accompanied him back to the gates of Basil. All the expenses of his journey were defrayed.’

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. p. 285, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. p. 321.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 430.

## I. 454.

‘ Boissard <sup>c</sup> relates that Erasmus was made rector of the university of Basil, &c. These facts having appeared to me very improbable, I consulted two learned men, who are well acquainted with every thing relating to that university. They have informed me, that no credit is to be given to the relation given by Boissard; that Erasmus never was rector of that university; and that its privileges are safe and sound, and still preserved in its archives, &c.’

## I. 512.

‘ The Sorbonne <sup>d</sup>, in 1526, censured the Colloquies of Erasmus; but Francis I was not well pleased with this behaviour of the faculty, as it appears from a letter which he wrote to the Parliament, in which are the following words :

“ And because we are duly certified that the said faculty, they and their tools and agents, attack whomsoever they think fit, blackening and blasting their reputation, as they have done to Erasmus, and will proceed to do to others also, we command you to let the members of the said faculty know instantly, that they shall not all or any of them write, compose, and print any thing, which is not first seen and approved by you, or your deputies, and de-  
“ liberated upon in full court.”

## I. 524.

‘ The Colloquies of Erasmus were corrupted by Lambertus Campestris <sup>e</sup>, as Erasmus complains; so that we cannot doubt of this edition being sold publicly, since Erasmus saw it, and names the printer. Yet the authors of the Bibliotheque of the Jacobins have pretended to say, that Erasmus in all probability gave credit to false rumours, and that Lambertus never published the Colloquies; because they never could meet with that edition, or with any person who had seen it.

‘ Lambertus ended his days in a manner not very edifying.

<sup>c</sup> Vol. i. p. 283.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. p. 272.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. p. 367.

—The authors of the *Bibliothèque* of the Jacobins have thought, that a zeal for their own order would excuse them from observing the rules of history. They have not said one word of the apostasy of this Lambertus, when they give the abridgment of his life.’

## I. 551.

‘The edition<sup>f</sup> of Ambrose by Erasmus hath not found much approbation; and is represented as defective and faulty by the Benedictins, and by Du Pin.’

## I. 578.

‘The Apology<sup>g</sup>, which Erasmus drew up for his *Terminus*, occasioned two works, mentioned by Crenius: one of Petrus Rubus, who wrote against the plea of Erasmus; the other of Christianus Philereus, who refuted Rubus.’

## I. 580.

‘In the dialogue of Erasmus *De Pronunciatione*<sup>h</sup>, the interlocutors are a Bear and a Lion. *Les interlocuteurs de ce dialogue sont un Ours et un Lion.*’

The interlocutors are creatures who walk upon two feet; the name of the one is Mr. Bear, the name of the other is Mr. Lion; *Monsieur l’Ours, et Monsieur Lion.*

Tom. II. p. 5, and 224.

M. Burigni speaks freely enough of the scandalous traffic of indulgences<sup>i</sup>; more freely than our Fiddes in his *Life of Wolsey*. He also condemns the putting heretics to death; for which he deserves to be commended.

## II. 93.

‘The *Diatribes*<sup>k</sup> of Erasmus *de Libero Arbitrio* was translated into German (as Seckendorf observes) by Emser, and had a great run; which made Luther reply very speedily to it.’

<sup>f</sup> Vol. i. p. 380.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. p. 428.

<sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 401.

<sup>i</sup> Ibid. p. 105.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. p. 306.

## II. 96.

‘Erasmus<sup>1</sup> complained of Luther to Frideric, elector of Saxony.’

It was not to Frideric (I believe), but to John, his brother, and at that time his successor in the electorate.

## II. 246.

‘The censure<sup>m</sup> which the Sorbonne passed upon the works of Erasmus was ill received, insomuch that the ministry for four years would not permit the printing of it; and it was not till the year 1531 that Jodocus Badius Ascensius printed it.’

## II. 362.

‘Polydore Virgil’s Collection of Adages<sup>n</sup> was printed at Venice in 1498, that is, two years before the first edition of the Adages of Erasmus, though Erasmus had never seen it, or heard of it.’

## II. 388.

‘The Brief<sup>o</sup> of Paul III, dated August 1, 1535, is very obliging and favourable to Erasmus. The pope declares, that paying attention to the piety and probity of Erasmus, to his superiority in various sciences, and to the good services which he had done to the Apostolical See, by vigorously attacking the deserters of the faith, he gives him the provostship of Deventer, in the diocese of Utrecht, vacant by the death of John Vinchel, reputed to be worth six hundred florins a year; that he gives it with great pleasure, and as an earnest of the recompenses which he intended to bestow upon his virtue.’

## II. 404.

‘The<sup>p</sup> true name of Petrus Sutor was *Pierre Le Couturier*, as it appears from the privilege of one of his books, entitled, *De potestate Ecclesiæ in occultis*.’

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 359.

<sup>m</sup> Ibid, p. 392.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 256.

<sup>o</sup> Above, p. 66.

<sup>p</sup> Vol. i. p. 341.

## II. 416.

‘ The learned man <sup>q</sup>, whom the Abbé Longuerue confuted, and whom the editor of the Longueruana hath not named, is Huetius. I have often heard this related by the Abbé, who would have thought the best part of his story suppressed, if he had suppressed the name of Huetius, for whom he had very little esteem, and by whom he was feared so much, that from that time Huetius shunned him, and would not dine with the cardinal d’Estrées without being first assured that Longuerue would not be there.’

## II. 422.

‘ The <sup>r</sup> last will of Erasmus shows that he was in good circumstances. It was reported, as Fellerus relates, that he left more than *septem millia aureorum*, seven thousand ducats. In his will, mention is made of his selling his library to John à Lasco. The contract between them hath not, I think, appeared in print, and hath been communicated to me by Cardinal Passionei. Here it is :

“ Erasmus Roterodamus bibliothecam meam universam  
 “ vendidi clarissimo Poloniæ Baroni Joanni à Lasco trecen-  
 “ tis coronatis aureis, hac lege, ut quoad vixero, usus li-  
 “ brorum ex amicitiz jure sit illi mecum communis, pro-  
 “ prietas tota penes illum sit perpetua : quod jus transibit  
 “ etiam in illius hæredes, si, quod Deus avertat; contingat  
 “ illum prius ex humanis decedere. Interim indicem libro-  
 “ rum, velut arrabonem traditionis, habet. Quicquid in-  
 “ terim accreverit, et hoc illius erit, nisi si quos codices ma-  
 “ nuscriptos magno contigerit emere. In his, ex utriusque  
 “ consensu, fiet moderatio novi contractus, duntaxat quod  
 “ attingebit ad illam accessionem. In cujus rei fidem dictus  
 “ Erasmus hoc chirographum mea manu descripsi, affixo  
 “ peculiari annuli mei signo Terminò, ann. 1525, duodeci-  
 “ mo cal. Julias. Dimidium pretii numeratum est Basileæ  
 “ 1525, alterum pretii dimidium postridie D. Martini anno  
 “ 1536 persolutum est. Bonifacius Amerbachius, nuncu-  
 “ patus incomparabilis D. Erasmi Roterodami hæres, mea  
 “ manu attestor ; et ego Joannes à Lasco prædicta manus  
 “ meæ subscriptione fateor esse verum.”

<sup>q</sup> Above, p. 77.

<sup>r</sup> Above, p. 77.



## II. 443.

‘ Under the statue of Erasmus are these verses :

‘ Barbariæ, &c.’

M. Burigni hath cited these verses carelessly and faultily. There are other mistakes of the same kind in his book ; but I choose to pass them over.

## II. 513.

‘ Julius II granted to Erasmus the dispensation, which he had requested in his Epistle to Grunnius.’

The pope, to whom Grunnius presented the Epistle of Erasmus<sup>s</sup>, was (I believe) Leo X. Erasmus says in that Epistle<sup>t</sup>, that he had before obtained of the pope (that is, of Julius II) leave to accommodate his habit to the custom of the places where he should happen to sojourn.

## II. 517.

‘ It is to be presumed, that if Erasmus had lived long enough, he would have changed his opinion, and submitted himself to the decision of the council of Trent, concerning auricular confession.’

Are you in earnest ? It is to be presumed, that, if he had lived to see that ecclesiastical cabal, he would have had the same opinion of it as father Paul had. Who knows not that two hundred logs of wood, cut out into the shapes of cardinals, bishops, abbots, and scholastic divines, and properly apparelled, would have made as good a Set of Fathers, as those who were assembled at that venerable council, each of whom (a few excepted) was

— — — nervis alienis mobile lignum ?

## II. 559.

‘ The first book *de l'Eutopie*, of the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, was also ascribed to Erasmus.—And he likewise

<sup>s</sup> Ep. 442. c. 1829.

<sup>t</sup> Vol. i. p. 65.

passed for being the author of a Lamentation upon the tragical death of that excellent man—but it was the work of Joannes Secundus. *Nænia in mortem V. Clar. Thomæ Mori, auctore Joanne Secundo, falso antehac D. Erasmo Rot. adscripta, ac depravatissime edita.* Lovanii, 1636.'

The *Utopia* should be called in French *Utopie*, not *Eutopie*.

The reader will find in M. Burigni's book some accounts of Hegius, tom. i. p. 16. Rod. Agricola, p. 17. Anna Bersala, p. 55. Andrelinus, p. 86. Gaguinus, p. 87. Aldus Manutius, p. 134. Marc. Musurus, p. 136. Scip. Carteromachus, p. 146. Warham, p. 169. Lambertus Campestris, p. 523. Etienne Poncher, p. 240. Alexander VI, tom. ii. p. 15. Silvester Prieras, p. 51. Stunica, p. 163. Albertus Pius, p. 179. Aleander, p. 191. Beda, p. 204. Heresbachius, p. 304. Gerardus Noviomagus, p. 305. 331. Sutor, p. 404. Gallandius, p. 438. Of these persons I also have given some account.

There is something singular in M. Burigni's way of spelling. Whether it be the present fashion to write so, I know not: but we find in his book;

Sometimes *Chrisostôme*, sometimes *Chrisostome*, and sometimes *Chrysostome*; sometimes *Ciprien*, and sometimes *Cyprien*; sometimes *Porphire*, and sometimes *Porphyre*.

We find *Les Scithes*, *Hermonime*, *Eûtichius*, *Chrisolore*, *La Scithie*, *Thucidide*, *Theophilacte*, *Thrasimaque*, *Chitreus*, *Pirrhonien*, *l'Eutichianisme*, *Polidore-Virgile*, *Polimnestor*, *Pirrhonisme*, *Dtdimus*, &c.

And yet we find *Cyrille*, *Syndic*, *Symbole*, *Apocalypse*, *Denys*, *Chrysippe*, *Synese*, *Sibylles*, *Style*, &c.

It is a bad custom to throw the letter *y* out of words of Greek extraction, which have the *ὑψιλόν*, and to substitute in its place the letter *i*. I mean not to depreciate the industrious and useful work of my fellow-labourer; but only to admonish those whom it may concern, that they would use a little more accuracy in these things, and not quite neglect the rules of orthography, as beneath their regard.

EXTRACT<sup>u</sup> from a<sup>x</sup> second letter of Professor Burcard to my friend above mentioned.

‘ All the things which<sup>y</sup> Bayle mentions in the article of *Erasmus*, Not. H, are still to be seen in our library; to which may be added the hour-glass<sup>z</sup> of Erasmus.

‘ The writings belonging to Erasmus, in our library, which are not inserted in the collections of his works, may be found in the *Bibliotheca Bremensis* of Hasæus.

‘ The silver globe, mentioned in the *Life* of Thuanus<sup>a</sup>, is also in the cabinet: but I doubt whether it belonged to Erasmus, because it hath no inscription to show that it was his, and the arms of the family of Iselin are upon it, and nothing relating to it is found in the will of Erasmus, or in his Letter to Christopher Mesia<sup>b</sup>. I believe that it belonged to Amerbach, who had it from some other person. The reverend Mr. Zwinger is at present possessor of a silver cup gilt, of which mention is made in the will of Erasmus.’

THE NUMEROUS Testimonies of authors for and against Erasmus; Remarks upon all his works; a Collection of passages from his writings, to which we have made references; some of his Tracts, and some Epistles of him and of his correspondents, which have not been published, or which, though in print, are not in the edition of Leyden, are reserved for another volume\*.

I have also some Additions to this *Life* of Erasmus, relating principally to the notes and the citations. As they will be a growing work, they also shall be reserved for the next volume, and there inserted under the title of *Addenda* †.

<sup>u</sup> Translated from the French.

<sup>x</sup> See above, p. 95.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 94.

<sup>z</sup> Erasmus received an hour-glass from Joannes Turzo, and another from Schydlovietz. Vol. i. 196. 374.

<sup>a</sup> See above, p. 94.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 1103, in which he mentions the presents which he had received from his friends. See above, p.

\* i. e. The remainder of Vol. II. and Vol. III. of the present edition.

† N. B. The *Addenda* are inserted in the present edition in the places to which they belong.



**BOOK II.**

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**REMARKS**

**ON THE**

**WORKS OF ERASMUS.**



REMARKS  
ON THE  
WORKS OF ERASMUS.

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**B**EFORE we offer remarks on the works of Erasmus, we will give some account of the judgments which learned men have passed upon him.

In the first tome of his works, amongst the Prolegomena, are collected Testimonia Principum, &c. The testimony of princes and learned men in favour of Erasmus.

They are Leo X, Adrian VI, Paul III, the emperor Charles V, Ferdinand archduke of Austria, Henry VIII, Sigmund king of Poland, cardinal Bembus, Raphael cardinal of St. George, Alphonsus Fonseca archbishop of Toledo, Peter bishop of Cracow, Joannes Turzo bishop of Breslaw, Sadolet, Stanislaus Turzo bishop of Olmutz, Paulus Jovius, Franciscus Deloinus, Guil. Budæus, Thomas More, Lil. Gregorius Gyraldus, Joan. Sturmius, Luther, Barthol. Latomus, Andr. Alciatus, Lud. Vives, Cameraarius, Joan. Sleidanus, Adrianus Junius, Conrad. Gesnerus, Theod. Beza, Jac. Boissardus, Jos. Scaliger, Gaspar Sciopius, Dominic. Baudius, Sweertius, Joan. Maldonatus, Aubertus Miræus, Ger. Vossius, Grotius, Episcopius, Calixtus, Huetius, Rolandus Maresius, Morhofius, Hofmannus.

Of these testimonies we shall pass over such as are mere compliments, and select those which are rather of the critical kind, and add to them several more which we have collected from various authors.

PAULUS JOVIUS.

Erasmus—perpetuis eruditæ laudis honoribus extollendus

videtur, postquam ætatis nostræ scriptorum prope omnium decus, ingenii fertilitate, superavit. Is ab adolescentia pio religiosi animi decreto, ad cucullatos sacerdotes se contulit, tanquam humana despiceret. Sed non multo post pertæsus intempestivæ servitutis, votique temere suscepti, ea sacrați ordinis septa transiit; ut ad excolendum ingenium plane liber per omnia Europæ gymnasia vagaretur. Contendebat enim cura ingenti ad summæ gloriæ fastigium, ad quod literarum omnium cognitione perveniri posse intelligebat. Quum jam ad arcana cujusque doctrinæ infinita læctione inusitataque memoria penetrasset, edidit Moriam, atque inde primam nominis famam longissime protulit, imitatione Luciani Satyræ, pungentes aculeos passim relinquens; omnium scilicet sectarum actionibus ad insaniam revocatis. Opus quidem salsa adspersione per jucundum, vel gravibus et occupatis; sed sacrați viro prorsus indecorum, quum divinis quoque rebus illuisse videretur. Sed mature demum, quod ejus intemperantiæ male audiendo pœnas daret, sanctiores literas complexus est, tanta robustissimi ingenii contentione, ut vertendo Græca et Commentarios excudendo plura quam quisquam alius, volumina publicaret. Verum seipso haud dubie cunctis admirabilior futurus, si Latinæ linguæ conditores graviter imitari, quam fervido properantique ingenio indulgere maluisset. Quærebat enim peculiarem laudem ex elocutionis atque structuræ novitate, quæ nulla certe veterum æmulatione pararetur, ut in *Ciceroniano* non occulti livoris plenus ostendit. Tanta enim erat naturæ fœcunditas, ut plena semper, ac ideo superfœtante alvo, varia et festinata luxuriantis ingenii prole delectatus, novum aliquid, quod statim ederetur, chalcographis, tanquam intentis obstetricibus, parturiret.—

Varro sui sæculi, et Cicero Germaniæ.

Paulus Jovius <sup>a</sup>, who thus animadverts upon the style of Erasmus, had been better employed in mending his own, which is certainly inferior to that of Erasmus, and condemned by many learned critics. However, some of these censors seem to have treated Jovius rather too severely, whose diction, though florid and full of affectation, is lively and perspicuous. If it be sometimes impure and unclassi-

<sup>a</sup> Bayle, *Jove*. Pope Blount, p. 447.



cal, as indeed it is, yet this will be the case, more or less, with the moderns, and it is hardly possible to compose much in a dead language without falling now and then into errors of that kind.

There is a worse fault in this bishop, and that is, that he writes like a very pagan, and is for ever talking of *Fate*, and *Fortune*, and the *immortal Gods*; a fault which Erasmus hath frequently and justly censured in some of his contemporaries. Jovius, as he was very ingenious, is, with all his defects, an agreeable and entertaining writer.

#### JOANNES TURZO.

‘Turzo, bishop of Breslaw, had great connections with Erasmus, and took a long voyage on purpose to be personally acquainted with him; like that citizen of Cadiz, who, as Pliny relates, came to Rome, only to see Livy. N. Bibl. German. Juillet—Septembre 1758, p. 136.’

Mr. de Missy gave me this extract. Turzo had indeed the highest esteem<sup>b</sup> for Erasmus; but as to the voyage mentioned by the journalist, it is a mistake.

#### STURMIUS.

Erasmus Rot. qui copiam linguæ Latinæ auxit, vir ad omne genus scribendi naturâ idoneus, exercitatione etiam perfectus, si odio Longoliani instituti, delectum verborum, et curam stylo non recusasset adhibere; in religionis autem tractatione, nescio quomodo, cum omnium literatorum hominum gratia et favore, plusquam Lutherus, urbanitate, pontificiorum et monachorum auctoritati obfuit.

#### HENR. BULLINGERUS.

——<sup>c</sup> Versatus sum in Schola Coloniensi——Degustavi tum quoque Theologiam Scholasticam—Sed, Deo ita volente, et Augustini Erasmi que libris aliquot prælucentibus, melioribus studiis et sinceriori theologiæ memet consecrare cœpi.

<sup>b</sup> Life of Erasm. vol. i. p. 196.

<sup>c</sup> Epist. ad Marcum A. 1545. in Hasæi Bibl. Brem. class. iii. fasc. 6. p. 1064.

## ANTONIUS THEYSIUS.

Exhibemus tibi—Erasmi vitam—qui tot volumina conscripsit, quot alii vix legere; qui acri iudicio, stylo volubili tantum nomen accepit, ut nonnullis etiam eruditis invidiam crearit. Quale hoc, per Deum immortalem, Andrea Schotti, viri cæteroquin eruditi, iudicium, qui tam egregia Erasmi opera ne quidem lectione dignatur, si Proverbiorum opus exceperis? Qui naturæ ejus fecunditatem, quæ exuberanti anni similis seipsam non capit, vitio vertit? Et hoc ideo, si diis placet, quia Ciceronis verba ubique non captat. — Quæ porro hic concumulata sunt, Pauli Merulæ diligentia, vel Petri Scriverii industria suppeditavit. Quin et ipsum Erasmi autographum, de vita ejus ne quis dubitet, adhuc integrum exstat in instructissima Bibliotheca Hieronymi de Backere. —

Schottus was a Jesuit and a Ciceronian; and upon both accounts too much prejudiced against Erasmus, to be capable of forming a proper judgment of his abilities, which surpassed those of Schottus beyond all comparison.

The Abbé Longuerue despised Schottus as much as Schottus despised Erasmus.

‘What a wretched translator, says he, is the Jesuit Schottus! He knows not what he is about, and his Version <sup>d</sup> of Photius is for the most part the work of his scholars.’ Longuer. l. 23.

## CAMERARIUS.

Erasmus, cum et ingenio esset præditus eccellente, et studii industria non facile alteri cuiquam cederet, copia artium et literarum instructus, neglectos jamdudum et in pulvere jacentes libros et monumenta doctrinæ christianæ in lucem reduxit, et ad hos in manus sumendos hominum cupiditatem excitavit. Cum autem hoc pulcherrimo facto quamplurimorum odia erga se commovisset et irritasset animos, distractæ cogitationes illius et impedita opera nonnunquam fuit, necessitate quadam defensionis, dum a se quasi vim et injuriam insectationum propulsare cogitur. Sed nimirum verum id est, quod Senarius Latinus memorat,

Nimis altercando veritas amittitur.

<sup>d</sup> Vid. Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ix. 379.

Nam et semel ille quasi impulsus, ruere deinde cœpit, responsionumque et assertionum frequentia, cum longius inter- dum ab instituto videretur recessisse, tum certe his occupa- tionibus commoda, quæ interea conciliari studiosis piarum literarum potuissent, fuerunt interversa. Neque ego video, quæ gratia ab ullo digne meritis ipsius haberi possit; cujus diligentia, labore, assiduitate, et constantia illis temporibus periculosa, perfectum est ut et libros Scriptorum Apostoli- corum et Evangelicæ Historiæ integros purosque habeamus. Neque mea quidem sententia, ullius operæ, quæ corrigendo ultra Erasnicas notationes progrediatur, locus est relictus.

## THUANUS.

At Protestantés laudas, quos nempe Vatini  
 Debueras odisse odio, et cane pejus et angue.  
 Eloquium quidni laudem, ingeniumque colendis  
 Artibus, et si quid calamo vel voce valebant?—  
 Ergo Leunclaius, Gesnerus, Fabriciusque  
 Dictus honorifice, Camerarius, atque Xylander,  
 Insuper et plures alii. Quid magnus Erasmus?  
 Mene in eum, cui res tantum literaria \* debet,  
 Et debet adhuc, genuinum stringere? crimen,  
 Vos veneror, Manes, hoc a me, deprecor, absit.  
 At peccavit. Homo fuit, atque humanus Erasmus,  
 Humane et carpi voluit, placideque moneri.  
 Hem, quis homo es, qui ferre alium nequis, improbe, lapsu  
 Peccantem humano, cum tu deterrima pecces  
 Interea, inque homines divosque injurias ipsos,  
 Obscœnasque cavo luctantis pectoris antro  
 Admota doleas face perlucere latebras?  
 Sunt hominum ætates variæ: juveniliter illum  
 Exultasse stylo fateor. Verum ultima semper  
 Distractæ studiis spectanda est clausula vitæ;  
 Quæ pulchra in Batavo fuit irreprehensaque cycno.  
 Ad Belgas testis quam scripsit epistola fratres †.

De Vita sua, l. v. p. 83.

## J. CÆS. SCALIGER.

In his Poetica, he hath passed this judgment upon Eras-

\* A false quantity: unless he intended to say *litraria* for *literaria*, as *porgite* for *porrigite*. But this, I think, is hardly allowable.

† Thuanus doth no honour to his own judgment, in thus recommend- ing that peevish letter of Erasmus.

mus, that he was *Homo ex alieno ingenio poeta, ex suo versificator*. His meaning was, that Erasmus, when he copied or translated antient poets, appeared as a poet; but, when he made poems of his own invention, was only a versifier. His remark is perhaps true enough. But what sort of poet was Scaliger? 'His poems,' says Menage, 'make a huge volume in octavo. Scarcely are there four or five epigrams in the whole collection that can pass muster.' Menagian. ii. 275.

#### AVENTINUS.

Universos quoque Veteris ac Novi Instrumenti libros, librariorum imperitia, lectorum oscitantia, interpretum inscitia, et incuria temporum depravatos, ad amussim et veritatem fontis correxit [Carolus Magnus]. Exstat publicum decretum: nec sivit, ut tanti imperatoris verbis utar, in divinis lectionibus, templisque, inter sacra officia, inconditos solœcismos, barbarismosque inconcinnos obstrepere: in quibus quidam religiosuli, nostra memoria, sanctitatem collocant, quasi vero erroris aut inscitiae turpitudine, præstigiosæ atrî genii tenebræ, iraque superum, Deo optimo scientiæ et sapientiæ largitori fabroque complacent. Atque illi crabrones iniquissimo ferunt animo, quod nostro demum felicissimo (Christo propitio) seculo, Erasmus Roterodamus (quo nemo multis jam ætatibus utilior christiano contigit orbi) jussu Leonis decimi pontificis maximi, novi Instrumenti sacros libros ad Græcorum fidem, hoc est, veritatis fontem, emendavit.

Joannes Aventinus<sup>s</sup> Annal. Boiorum, l. iv. ed. Francof. 1627, p. 221.

#### SCALIGERANA.

Erasmus perspicacissimo vir ingenio, seipso haud dubio futurus major (quod scribit Paulus Jovius) si Latinæ linguæ conditores imitari, quam petulanti linguæ indulgere maluisset. Erasmi Chiliades excellentissimum opus. Nimius tamen fuit, et quandoque sapit Germanum, videtur enim magnum numerum affectasse, eadem quater repetens.

Potissima ejus operâ sunt Chiliades, Epistolæ, et Novum Testamentum, quod bonum est. Non paucis erroribus la-

‡ Life of Eras. vol. i. p. 90.

borant, quoad Latinitatem, ejus Colloquia. Nimio habet in pretio Latinitatem Hieronymi, qui male loquebatur. Erasmus melius quam ille loquebatur. Nullus unquam sive Papista, sive Lutheranus, sive Calvinista præstantiorem elucubravit librum nec elegantiorum ejus in Novum Testamentum Paraphrasi. Quamvis parens meus adversus Erasmum calamum strinxerit, magni tamen Erasmum facio: magnus fuit vir. O quam præclara epistola in ejus epistolarum fronte scripta est! Erasmus magnus vir divinam edidit Paraphrasin, Erasmi Præfatio in Senecam est præstantissima: optime de eo judicavit, melius adhuc quam Lipsius. Pœnituit patrem adversus illum scripsisse. Culpam suam agnovit, sed fuerat irritatus cum vocaretur ab Erasmo *miles*, quasi per contemptum, ut Amphitheatrum vocat Dominos Plessæum et Lanovium, *militēs*, per contemptum. In Italia, Adagia typis mandari curarunt, ac expunxerunt Erasmi verba, et 500 inseruerunt Adagia, quæ talia non sunt. Muretus illos ridet. Erasmi Annotationes in Novum Testamentum multa habent doctissima, et ipsius Paraphrasis est instar optimi Commentarii, quamvis in quibusdam erret. Oportet magnos viros in vita semel errare; et ille in Dialogo Ciceroniano nugaciter lapsus.

#### DOMINICUS BAUDIUS.

Salibus, et iis interdum aculeatis, abundant nonnulla ejus opera, in quibus crassos errores, et aniles quasdam superstitiones orationis libertate perstringit, unde orta est opinio contemptarum religionum: sed norma christianæ charitatis suadere debuit humaniorem interpretationem. Videtur autem Erasmus magis habuisse quid fugeret, quam quid sequeretur. Unus omnia pervidere non potuit, et rem haud exiguam præstitit, quod in tantis ignorantiae tenebris oculos atollere potuerit ad investigandam lucem veritatis. Meticulosior fuit et timens offensionum, atque hoc unice in vita studuit, ut omnium ordinum et generum benevolentiam colligeret. Id forsitan impedimento fuit quo minus cornicum oculos configere ausus fuerit, et omnia iniquitatis mysteria velo levato patefacere. Multum tamen, imo infinitum ei debet posteritas, et forte non haberent reprehensores ejus unde famam consequi potuissent, nisi ipsis dedisset quod reprehenderent.

## AUBERTUS MIRÆUS.

Erasmus, ut erat peregrinationis amans, plerasque christiani orbis academias, magna celebritate famæ, qua docendo, qua scribendo, obivit; major et apud posteros futurus, si minor esse voluisset. Nam si intra professionis literariæ terminos substitisset, seque totum hisce studiis dedidisset, haud dubie cum primis illis Latini sermonis auctoribus paria facere potuisset. At vero postquam theologum agere cœpit, ingenio fisis nimium sibi sumsit; dumque in tractandis sacris literis veterumque patrum scriptis, severum nimis se præbet Aristarchum, nominis sui auctoritatem vehementer labefactavit, &c. Elog. Belg. p. 122.

So this ecclesiastic condemns the theological works of Erasmus; and it was natural for him to pass such a judgment.

## BISHOP JEWELL.

Erasmi quidem opera trivit [Juellus] Chiliades Adagiorum in primis et volumen epistolarum, deinde postea omnes tomos; cujus dictio, quia non solum verborum et figurarum quasi stellis insignita, sed et argumentorum nervis et rerum varietate convestita, et fabularum jucunda accommodatione commendata est, lectores valde allicit et inescat. Vita Juelli, auctore Laurentio Humfredo, p. 24.

*Rules of the Lords of the Council, in England, A. 1582, for Conferences with Priests and Jesuits.*

VI. Item. To be sure that such books as shall be alleged in the name of any antient doctor, be not *supposititii*. For that diverse books are printed with Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustin, &c. which be none of theirs: to the knowledge whereof Erasmus hath given great light. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 98.

## G. J. VOSSIUS.

Quis ferat quod Erasmum, seu jure, seu injuria, reprehendere non contentus Julius Scaliger, mox subdat: 'Sed facilius potuit spernere philosophiam, quam nesciebat, quam imitari quos formidabat.' Nempe non potuit summus vir

ab animo suo impetrare, ut occasionem ullam negligeret maledicendi Erasmo, viro tam præclare merito de orbe literato. Atqui non spretam esse ab Erasmo philosophiam naturalem, vel Colloquiorum arguat liber. In his dialogus, qui *Puerpera* inscribitur, ubi multa de animæ facultatibus, item ille, cui titulus *Problema*, ubi de levium ac gravium motu: et quid omnia congeram? Nec satis erat, si in philosophiæ studio sic traduceret. Quid pœne ei laudis reliquit? Satis res aperta ex oratione adversus Ciceronianum Erasmi. Quid ea virulentius? Sed contineamus nos in illis, quæ postea exaravit. Operis de Re Poëtica, lib. iv. qui *Parasceve* inscribitur, c. i. cum Petrum Aponensem culpasset, quod orationi Latinæ misceret particulas Græcas, ἐτι, πάλιν, subjicit deinde: ‘Contextus, cujusmodi videas quotidie prodire ex claustris monachorum; neque ex his solum, sed illis quoque, penes quos summa rei literariæ diu stetit judicio imperitorum pædagogorum, inter quos Erasmus; cujus mirificam animadvertas Latinitatem, vel cum dicit, se calculum suum recantare.’ Non vacat cætera id genus adscribere; nec opus, quando ipsum, credo, Scaligerum subiit tandem hujus maledicentiæ pœnitudo. Hoc enim colligi videtur ex carmine isto, libro, quem *Heroës* inscripsit, ‘Tunc etiam moreris,’ &c. Quid dicere potuit magnificentius? Inde igitur potius æstimemus magnitudinem Erasmi, quam aliis ejusdem a nigræ succo loliginis derivatis. Nec sane Erasmus Scaligero, viro licet in non una studiorum parte incomparabili, minus de orbe ac studiis meritis esse censendus, modo totum cogitemus Erasmum. Quod nemo negaverit, nisi qui operam ejus sacris literis et tot Græcis, Latinisque Patribus impensam suo nesciat pretio æstimare. De Idol. iv. 13.

Idem, Epist. lxx. p. 105.

Prodiit nunc Epistolarum (Jos. Scaligeri) opus. Præfatio est ab Heinsio, sed sub Elzevirianorum nomine. Magnifice extollit Scaligeros.—Quibus ego laudibus non invideo: etsi non arbitrer Erasmum fuisse iis minorem, præsertim quando cogito tempora, in quæ hujus pueritia incidit; tum etiam quam præclare de Novo Testamento, et tot S. S. Patribus meritis sit. Nec enim persuadere mihi possum minoris mo-

menti aut fructus esse operam istam, quam quæ subtilius sæpe quam verius adversus Cardanum Julius disputat; aut quæ de Re Poetica vel Causis Linguae Latinæ idem nos docet: præsertim cum ne filius quidem in iis, quæ de poetis judicarat, parentis iudicium sequendum putarit: et opus de Causis L. L. sæpe quærat quod non est, Alchymistarum instar, ut ipse ejus auctor agnovit—Ut igitur redeam ad Erasmum, mihi utroque illo Heroë non minor videtur, præsertim si seculum infelix attendam, quo Erasmus, inter indocitos monachos, in tanta tot librorum bonorum penuria, qui necdum vel corruptissime prodierant, ad illud eruditionis fastigium potuit aspirare.

Idem, Epist. cclxxiii. p. 277.

—Vir nec sua ætate quoquam minor, nec nostra fortasse, nec intermedia, saltém si totum consideremus Erasmum.

Idem, DANIELI HEINSIO, Epist. ccccxxxiv. p. 389.

—Redeo ad gratissimos labores tuos: in quibus dissimulare non possum, inter alia mihi fuisse illud jucundissimum, quod antiquum obtineas in tuendo Erasmo, viro optime de literarum studiis merito, nec minus de toto sanctorum Patrum choro.—Quare etsi hominem fuisse sciam, nec jurare semper in ejus sententiam velim (quem honorem nulli hominum deferendum censeo) tamen probare eos non possum, qui tam irreverenter illum habent: parum cogitantes, quibus temporibus vixerit, quantumque omnis ei debeat posteritas.

NANNIUS.

Petrus Nannius Alcmarianus Paulo Leopardo suo S. D.  
Nihil minus arbitror, optime Leoparde, quam Frobenios offensum iri tuis castigationibus in Erasmum. Aliud est errata tollere, et sanare in pulchro corpore quod vitiosum est; aliud est crimine insultare. Nec mihi unquam movisset stomachum Robortelli ab Erasmo dissensio, etiamsi mille locis discrepisset. Hominis virulentam debacchationem et furiosas blasphemias ferre non potui: neque alia intentione calamum in eum sumsi, quam ut docerem hominem, qui sub nomine Erasmi omnes Transalpinos sibi videtur trium-



phare, nihil prorsus esse: ostendique in multis eum vitia, quæ nulla essent, calumniari, et quæ essent, ipsum non videre, ac proinde ipse aliquot vitia Erasmi subjeci. Quapropter oro te, per quicquid Musis et Musarum cultoribus charum et sacrum est, ut primo quoque tempore librum tuum eruditissimum edas, ut videat ille Cæcilius quantopere cæcutiat, quum tamen tantopere emissitios oculos in scripta Erasmi defigat. Non dubium, miratur, ægrescit, quod aliquid viderim ab ipso non animadversum: quid futurum est ubi tuum Oceanum suis undis æstuantem cognoverit? Crede mihi, optime Leopardè, retundendus est fastus quorundam Italarum, qui se Ciceronianos volunt, quique dum frigidam et superstitiosam quandam elegantiam soni verborumque inanium sint consecuti, cæteros omnes præ se contemnunt, et magnis conspirationibus adobruunt. Si utaris Frobenio, rectum erit: sive Oporino, non minus faustum erit: bonus et doctus vir est, et qui tuas dotes optime intelliget. Si ad alterutrum meam operam requires, ea tibi non negabitur. Vides quam libere ad te scribam: idque ideo facio, ut ex fiducia sentias quanti te faciam, et quantopere tibi confidam. Bene vale. Lovanii, xv. Calend. Decemb. 1551.

## MURETUS.

‘Muretus, in his *Variæ Lectiones* 5, finds fault with Erasmus for inserting many things in his *Adages*, which are not proverbs, and complains that he wrote with too much precipitation. Ludovicus Vives says that the *Adagia* are a good introduction to the reading of the best antient authors. Daniel Heinsius commends that work as being full of learning, though he finds many faults in it.’ Simon’s *Select Bibliothæque*, xlvi.

‘Muretus treats the *Adagia* of Erasmus with contempt. It must be confessed indeed that Erasmus hath made several mistakes in that vast collection, as Daniel Heinsius owns; who yet speaks of the work with far more respect than Muretus. Muretus, with all his learning and his elegant manner of writing, could not have made such a book, which re-

5 So doth Yvo Villiomarus, *i. e.* Joseph Scaliger. See *Adag.* c. 1047. and the note.

quired a more extensive erudition than he possessed. Hen. Stephanus, who hath on many occasions defended Erasmus against the censures of Muretus, acknowledges that there are several errors in the Adagia, and hath corrected them in his remarks upon that work, which are to be found in the notes of the edition of Leyden. I have also added some criticisms of the same kind, without any design to diminish the esteem which is due to this great man.' *Le Clerc Bibl. A. and M. i. 188.*

'I am surprised to find pretty often in Muretus, one of the most exact Latin writers among the moderns, the verb *deprædicare*, which is not in any good antient author, and which, I believe, was first used by Erasmus.' *La Monnoye in the Menagiana iii. 387.*

Here follow some passages in Muretus, in which Erasmus is slighted or censured.

'Multæ ac variæ lectionis hominem, qui memoria nostra ex utriusque linguæ scriptoribus tantam vim collegit proverbiorum, fugere quædam, et quidem illustri in primis loco sita: quod quidem mihi nonnunquam pervideri mirum solet, &c.' *Var. Lect. iv. 17.*

'Eruditus sane vir, ac multæ lectionis, qui tot millia *παροιμιῶν* unum in corpus contulit, hoc non vidit.' vii. 15.

'—— cum et Erasmus ridicula quædam attulisset, et Alciatus in *Pqrergis* nihilo meliora, &c.' viii. 11,

'—— Nam cum is, qui primus aliquot proverbiorum millia collegerat, qui utinam aut ne attigisset unquam theologica, aut in eis religiosius et sincerius versatus esset, homo, qui neque legendo expleri, neque scribendo defatigari posset, multa in illo præcipiti scribendi calore male interpretatus esset, multa conjecisset in illum acervum proverbiorum, quæ proverbia non erant, &c.—' xii. 16.

'Erasmus, aliud cogitans, ex Horatio proverbium fecerat, *Mactata hostia lenior*—Nonne oportuit tam ridiculam interpretationem tolli, &c.?' xii. 17.

[Muretus. also speaks with great disdain of an edition of the Adages, purged from all that was heretical and scandalous, and published at Florence.]

'Erasmus in quodam versu scripserat, facile videri, proverbia scribere; idque se non negare: sed difficile esse chi-

liadas scribere. At si talia proverbialia recipiamus, jam non chiliadas, sed myriadum myriadas scribere facile fuerit. xii. 17.

As Muretus hath made remarks upon Erasmus, why should we not take the same liberty with Muretus?

In Homer's *Odyssea*, *Λ. 222.* the ghost of Anticlea, the mother of Ulysses, says to her son, after some conversation;

Ἄλλὰ φώσδε τάχιστα λιλαίσο' ταῦτα δὲ πάντα  
ἴσθ', ἵνα καὶ μετόπισθε τεῆ' εἴπησθα γυναικί.

Sed in lucem celerrime contende; hæc autem omnia Scias, ut etiam in posterum tuæ dicas uxori.

Here old Homer, according to Muretus, was jocose, and intended to give his readers a hint, that the conversation, which Ulysses had with the shades below, was all a poetic fiction, and a story fit only to be told to a silly woman, by the fire-side, in a winter evening. *Var. Lect. xi. 7.*

Observe, first, that Muretus purloined this observation from Plutarch '*De audiendis poetis;*' and secondly, that the observation was not worth the taking, and is a false refinement of Plutarch.

Amongst the orations of Muretus, there is a most shocking one, in praise of the massacre at Paris, on St. Bartholomew's day:

'*Pro Carolo IX. ad Gregorium XIII. Pont. Max. Oratio XXII. habita Romæ Anno 1572, post lanienam Parisiensem.*'

It is no wonder that Muretus had little respect for the memory of Erasmus. He entered himself into the society of the Jesuits<sup>1</sup>, and in his old days grew excessively devout; and the poor man showed his zeal by abhorring the Lutherans, and the reformed, and all such moderate and free-thinking Catholics as Erasmus.

#### PAULUS MANUTIUS.

Paulus Manutius, quum summum Ciceronianitatis attigisse gradum existimetur, ad eam tamen se nonnisi ductu et

<sup>1</sup> Thomasius Præf. ad Opera Mureti, p. 6. Bencius Vit. Mureti.

auspiciis hominis Galli pervenisse fatetur. Ita enim hic in quadam ad Vidum Fabrum epistola (quæ est libro ejus epistolarum primo) de nostro Petro Bunello; 'Ego ab illo maximum habebam beneficium, quod me cum Politianis et Erasmi nescio quibus misere errantem, in hanc recte scribendi viam primus induxerat.' Sed in posterioribus editionibus *cum Philelphis et Campanis* pro illis *cum Politianis et Erasmi* scriptum est. Utrocunque tamen scribatur modo, primùm Ciceroniane scribendi nostro Bunello laus constat: non parva illa quidem, vel ipsius Manutii judicio. Is enim Politianos et Erasmos (in quorum postea locum Philelphi et Campani substituti fuerunt) quod eam quam ipsi Bunellus ostendit scribendi viam non tenuerint, misere errasse arbitratur. H. Stephanus Præf. ad Epistolas Bunelli.

It cannot be denied that Manutius and Bunellus write with great accuracy and purity, and give you Latin words and Latin phrases: but there is more entertainment and more instruction in one epistle of Erasmus than in fourscore of theirs, which one can hardly read without falling asleep.

#### HUETIUS.

At suo tandem ordine prodeat Desiderius Erasmus vere seculi sui Phoenix; quis enim tot doctrinis cumulatus? quis tanta multiplicis ingenii ubertate circumfluens? quis tam portentosæ memoriæ capacitate instructus? quis suavitate in scribendo, quis salibus et facetiis conditior? quis vero in ea, quam habemus in manibus, convertendi industria tanta felicitate numeros omnes absolvit? Sententias acute pervestigat, dilucide expedit; sincera omnia atque sana; sine ariditate, sicca; sine exilitate, angusta; sine exuberantia, aperta; sine squalore, neglecta. Ad hæc pro rerum varietate sermonem suum temperat: in Scripturis Sacris vel minimos apices summa fide persequitur; in reliquis pro rata cujusque parte rigidam illam accuratorem inflectit; ut in eo artificio unus admodum regnum tenere videatur. Quod si cespitavit aliquando, ut causantur fastidiosi quidam et difficiles, homo fuit; ego vero ubi plura nitent, paucis maculis non offendor. De Clar. Interp. p. 230.

Quidam intra Novi solius Testamenti cancellos suam in

interpretando industriam explicuerunt, quorum facile, meo iudicio, princeps est Desiderius Erasmus: is ea felicitate hanc ornavit Spartam, ut et verba verbis, et sententias sententiis, et saporem sapore exæquaverit; et perspicuitatem tamen cum dictionis castitate, et nativo illo colore obtinuerit, quæ ad integram interpretis laudem unice requirebamus. Quinetiam ubi propter Latinæ linguæ indolem, quod uno Græci, idem pluribus exponere verbis necesse habuit, adscititia verba vario et insigni characterè depingi curavit, quo fidei suæ integritas palam extaret. De Claris Interpret. p. 149.

These are high commendations: but in another place Huetius hath censured Erasmus with strange asperity, for some of his remarks upon Origen:

Erasmus in Epistola ad Cigalinum scripserat has (Homilias in Lucam) alterius cujusdam esse videri, quam Origenis; sed in Censura ad libros Origenis mutavit sententiam.— Addit Erasmus; ‘Dein quum in cæteris nihil habeatur erroris, hic multa sunt vel suspecta, vel damnata.’ Itane vero? Nihilne in libris *Περί Ἀρχῶν*, in Commentariis in Matthæum, in reliquis operibus habetur erroris? Mirare, Lector, effrænem Erasmi in Veterum expendendis scriptis, et projectam temeritatem. Origenian. lib. iii. p. 253.

But Erasmus did not think Origen to be orthodox in all points; and hath often declared as much. See Ep. 633. c. 726.

#### BILLIUS, and GIRAC.

Girac says of Costar:

‘This man is so blind, that although Erasmus be one of the most faulty writers in the world, he can discern none of those faults. Yet Erasmus is mistaken in an infinite number of passages, insomuch that the Abbé Billi seriously affirms, that in this author’s version of eight Homilies of S. Chrysostom, he hath found more than a hundred and fifty errors. In another place he is forced to count by myriads his blunders in his translation of all Chrysostom’s Homilies on St. Paul; and yet no man ever wrote with less obscurity and more elegance than this father.—Erasmus, however, was a very able man, and I believe that the faults above mentioned in his translations proceeded from the great contempt

in which he held this saint ; for such was his insolence, that in a letter to Tonal he made his boast, that if he were drunk, he could write better things than Chrysostom in his Commentaries on the Acts. Thus the wits and geniuses of these later ages take upon them !

But Erasmus, in that letter to Tonal, intimates at the same time that he did not think those works to be genuine, upon which he bestowed so much contempt. 'Aliud spirat Chrysostomus,' says he. See Bayle, *Erasme*, not. D. D.

#### COLOMESIUS.

'Erasmus is one of the greatest divines who hath arisen since the days of the apostles. His Paraphrases on the New Testament are so excellent, that I can hardly refrain from thinking them divinely inspired. They are worth all our Commentaries, not excepting those of Calvin, who in many places hath very judiciously followed them, but who at other times departs from them, as well as Beza, without much reason. Never, says Jos. Scaliger, *did Papist, Lutheran, or Calvinist compose a better or a more elegant work than the Paraphrase of Erasmus*. His style is not less sweet and agreeable, than his reasoning is persuasive. His Adages show an extensive erudition, and his Epistles an uncommon genius. His piety shines in all his writings, particularly in his Commentaries upon some Psalms, and in his treatise called The Preacher. His enemies were very numerous ; but he dexterously overcame them, so as to compel even some of them to admire him. In a word, he was the ornament of his own age, and would be no less esteemed in ours, if we perused his works with less prejudice.' *Melange Curieux*, p. 844. 4to ed.

Amavi, fateor, ab ineunte fere ætate virorum doctorum epistolas : cum propter multarum rerum non facile alibi occurrentium notitiam, tum ob genuinas clarorum virorum effigies, quas in epistolis, tanquam in speculo, cernere est. Crevit amor iste cum annis ; et quas antea solum amabam, eæ nunc in deliciis mihi esse cœpere. Quid hic eloquar quanto cum fructu Marci Tullii et Plinii Junioris epistolas sæpius legam ? Quot egregia, quæ incassum alibi quæras, me docuerint Angeli Bassi, a patria Politiani, et Roteroda-

mensium Phœnicis epistolæ? reclamante licet Paulo Manutio, viro quidem politissimo, sed in cujus epistolis, præter verba nihil habeas. His addantur merito suo Josephi Scaligeri, et Isaaci Casauboni Epistolæ; e quibus historiam literariam plenissime didicimus; ut ex Hugonis Grotii, quæ nuperrime prodire, Philologica, Politica, ac Theologica multa. Agmen claudat vir seculorum memoria longe dignissimus G. J. Vossius. Colomesii Præfat. ad Epistolas G. J. Vossii.

#### DANIEL HEINSIUS

hath highly extolled Erasmus, in a letter to Scriverius, which is inserted in the first tome of Erasmus, c. 894.

#### BAUDIUS.

The letter of Baudius to Paul Merula is an elegant encomium upon Erasmus, and a defence of his style, which, as he truly observes, is copious, easy, flowing, and perspicuous. Ep. 514. c. 1916. It was written A. D. 1606.

#### EPISCOPIUS.

Hisce cur non adjungamus Erasmum nostrum, portentum certe sæculi sui, et Hollandiæ nostræ lumen? Etsi enim, ut de eo Sturmus ait, quod in pontificatu vidit, non ita ut potuit, voluit detegere; eam tamen animi moderationem, in dijudicandis ac discernendis necessariis a non necessariis dogmatibus, ubique servavit, contra theologorum pontificiorum, aliorumque præcipitem ac præfractam in condemnandis quibuslibet pene errantibus *αὐθάρδειαν* ac licentiam, ut miraculum prudentiæ ac perspicacitatis, in isto caliginoso ævo hodieque videri possit, adeoque non viam tantum monstrasse veritatis simul ac pacis studiosis, sed perfectum et omnibus numeris absolutum exemplar, si in hoc ævum nostrum incidisset, præbiturus fuisset. Non citabimus loca, unde id manifesto liquet. Scripta ejus ad unum omnia, Apologiæ, Epistolæ, Præfationes in Patres, ab ima ad summam usque chordam, aliud pene nihil sonant, quam pacis, tolerantia, moderationis consilia, non minus erudita quam salutaria.

## GROTIUS.

Vidit hoc, qui nihil prope non vidit Erasmus. —

## CALIXTUS.

Vir magno ingenio et eruditione [Erasmus], neque minore judicio et prudentia : qui tamen noster profecto non fuit, neque esse vel audire unquam voluit.

## SECKENDORF.

Quæ Maimburgius de Erasmo narrat, ex Pallavicino sumsit : in quibus plus est etiam invidiæ et loliginis ; sed ejus abstergendæ labor a proposito meo longius abit, et pleaque supra tetigi. Etsi enim summæ et infinitæ pene eruditionis sacræ et profanæ laudem, nulla censorum malitia apud eos imminuere possit, qui declamatorias et sophisticas artes a solida sapientiâ, et fucum a nativa pulchritudine discernere valent ; in religionis tamen negotio, ut dudum cum Luthero et post eum questi sunt nostrates, eum se non præbuit Erasmus, qualem potuisset et debuisset : excusatione quidem dignior, si pacis tantum et concordiæ, sive vitandi, ut sæpe scripsit, tumultus studio, medius veluti hæsisset. Cogitasse me sæpius fateor, imo doluisse, quid tantæ scientiæ et moderationis virum ea jam ætate et conditione, ut ubique terrarum honestam stationem invenire potuisset, impediverit, quo minus veritati manus aperte daret, et reformationis negotium, ut poterat, abjecta de corrigendis Romanæ Curia defectibus spe, serio et candide juvaret. In mentem quidem venit, eum honorum laudum et præmiorum cupidissimum fuisse, idque suspicabar ex frequentibus ejus ad aulas itineribus, ex blanditiis, quibus magnates demulcet, ex deprædicatis remunerationibus, et callidis favoris parandi, vel invidiæ declinandæ artibus, quibus usum esse epistolæ ostendunt. Vidi postea acriter illi ab Hutteno objectam inconstantiam, levitatem, et constupratam, ut loquitur, conscientiam, theologo, qui veritatem antea docuerit, et adhuc probe norit, minime dignam. Labi autem eum statuit ob inexplebilem famæ sitim, gloriæ avaritiam, animi imbecilli-



tatem, minis terroribusque cedentem, et muneribus atque honoris spe facile corrumpendum et ebrium. Sed cum ea non tantum edito libello, cui Spongiæ nomen dedit, a se amoliat, sed et in epistolis ad familiares ab honoris et opum cupidine immunem se tota vita fuisse ad mortem usque sancte affirmet, sæpe etiam oblatas dignitates et opima sacerdotia recusaverit, nolui meo judicio Hutteni fervori subscribere. Addam quæ Lutherus de Erasmo senserit, epistola, antequam cum eo in disputationem venisset, ad Spalatinum data: 'Erasmum,' ait, 'a cognitione gratiæ longinquum esse video, qui non ad crucem sed ad pacem spectat in omnibus scriptis. Hinc omnia putat civiliter et benevolentia quadam humanitatis tractanda gerendaque; sed hanc non curat Behemoth, neque hinc quisquam se emendat.' Objicit etiam ei gloriæ studium, se vero nulla de re gloriari audere, nisi de verbo veritatis, a domino dato. Addit postmodum: 'Igitur illorum scripta (loquitur de Capitone et Erasmo) quia abstinere ab increpando, mordendo, offendendo, nihil promouent. Civiliter enim admoniti pontifices sibi blanditum putant, et veluti jus habeant incorrigibilitatis, perseverant, contenti quod tremendi sint, et nemo eos reprehendere audeat.' L. i. Ep. 243. Cæterum quæ Coloniæ pro Lutheri causa Erasmus egerit, fide stant Jesuitarum, Aleandri relationem sequentium, qui ex contubernali inimicus Erasmo factus erat. Ex actis Lutheri traditis a Spalatio, nihil præter illa apparet, quæ supra retulimus. Nec reperio, quid Fridericus, Erasmo monente, de stylo temperando ad Lutherum scripserit, quæ spreta huic esse narrat Maimburgius. Video tamen Lutherum in Dedicatione Evangelicarum Enarrationum, t. ii. Lat. Jen. f. 339. aliquid ejusmodi agnoscere, et veluti deprecari, 'quod principis monitis in acrimonia contentionum de lana caprina (id est, de indulgentiis) vitanda non satisfecerit, sed improborum procacitates asperius quam pro religione et modestia tractasset, *veniam autem sperat*, si perpendatur, quantas virulentias unus ipse perpressus sit.' Sed ista, ut dixi, acrius in epistola ad Spalatinum postea propugnavit.

Probabile videtur conferentibus Erasmi et Lutheri ingenia, et eventum spectantibus, nisi Lutherus incredibili adversus pericula animi constantia et severitate proposito suo institisset, sed Erasmi versutam lenitatem imitari voluisset, nihil

metuendum pontifici de reformatione fuisse. De vita Erasmi certiora, quam Maimburgius refert, aliunde petenda sunt. L. i. p. 140.

#### ROLANDUS MARESIUS.

Erasmi, quanquam fere extemporaliter, et ab occupatissimo scriptæ, Epistolæ mihi supra modum placent. Præter eruditionem enim, eloquentiam, et tam in literis quam in quibusvis aliis rebus prudentiam, quam continent, Lutheranae etiam sectæ initia, aliasque res tradunt: quas nescio cur auctor secundum temporis ordinem, qui in literis edendis omnino necessarius est, non digesserit: sed ejus rei causas se habuisse dicit.

Inter recentes, qui multa egregie scripserunt, nemo mea sententia Erasmus præcessit, sive judicium, sive eruditionem, sive eloquentiam spectes, quem non verear cum quovis antiquorum conferre: qui si tota vita cum theologis quibusdam et monachis conflictatus non fuisset, meliora etiam quam edidit, orbi communicare potuisset; et si tam mordax, aut in quibusdam tuendis tam pertinax non fuisset, nihil in eo viro illa ætas quod desideraret, habuisset.

#### MORHOFIUS.

Erasmi Epistolis nihil est suavius et acutius. Latinitas in illis non mala: non quidem talis quam ad imitandum aliquis proponere sibi debeat (hic enim antiqui scriptores omne ferunt punctum), sed nativa, extemporalis, et interdum aliquem ex rebus colorem trahens, quod accidit interdum scriptoribus doctissimis, Grotio, Salmasio, ac aliis. Illi enim auctores prout res sunt, quas tractant, prout in auctores scribunt, a quorum lectione recentiores discedunt, stylum suum formare solent.—Vastum hoc opus est variarum ejus epistolarum, non quidem omnium; nam multæ etiamnum ineditæ sunt, et earum multæ manuscriptæ in Bibliotheca Gudiana asservantur. Ipse Erasmus non diffitetur, multas sibi esse epistolas ex tempore scriptas et dictatas, quarum nullum ille exemplum servaverat, doletque multas ex illis in vulgus emanasse.—Continentur in illo libro arcana statûs Civium, Ecclesiastici, Literarii illorum temporum, facta nonnunquam et jocosa, ut ipse fuit ingenio mire festivo.—Editio Epistolarum illarum Frobeniana editione Lon-

dinensi et cæteris longe melior est et correctior : multis enim mendis hæc postrema scatet, quanquam aliqua parte locupletior. Index huic operi subjectus utilissimus est. Lites in theologorum palæstris tum ventilatas, et quicquid in illarum historiam pertinet, illic deprehendes. Quanquam Erasmus se medium semper gesserit, studium tamen partium non raro deprehendes. Magna fuit ejus viri veneratio, et merito quidem, ingenium excellens, vastum, diffusum, fecundum, acre, promptum, ad omnia paratum, in decus et miraculum seculi natum. Triumphare duobus his civibus Batavia potest, Erasmo et Grotio, quibus pares postera secula non facile datura sunt.

Erasmus primus fuit inter Adagiorum collectores, quod opus ipsi suo tempore profecto fuit difficillimum : nam credo illum plus laboris operæque huic scripto impendisse, quam multis aliis. Liticulam<sup>k</sup> illi aliquando movit Cælius Rhodiginus, quasi surripuerit sibi aliqua circa Adagia meditata ; sed non habet, quo jactet se Rhodiginus, quod guttula una vel altera hunc fontem auxerit : pauca enim sunt quæ in opere ipsius Antiquarum Lectionum habentur de quibusdam adagiis. Etiam Verdierius, nugacissimus ille Veterum et Recentiorum censor, unguës suos in hoc opere figit, cui similem ille ne paginam quidem scribere poterat. Multæ sunt operis ejus editiones. Frobeniana est emendatissima. Edidit et Henricus Stephani e typographeo suo. Nova editio omnium est corruptissima, licet cæteris locupletior : nam adjuncta sunt Erasmi Chiliadibus, Cognati, Junii, et aliorum auctorum Adagia. Liber est, quo nemo carere potest Latinæ Linguae paululum studiosior.—

#### GUY PATIN.

Patin, who was a wit and an humourist, was a great admirer of Erasmus, and had hung up the picture of Erasmus on the one side, and that of Joseph Scaliger on the other side of a crucifix, which he had in his chamber. *Lettres de Patin.*

#### DAILLE.

Quod vero Erasmus et Vallam sciolos dixit Bellarminus,

<sup>k</sup> See Bayle, who corrects Morhof. *Erasme*, not. C. C.

id convicium esse, et quidem impudens, omnes sciunt, quibus duo illi viri vel ex ungue noti sunt; optime suo seculo de literis sacris profanisque meriti: et si Bellarmini libri perennaverint, omnes posterius os hominis mirabuntur, qui Sciolos eos vocare ausus est, quorum et ingenium plane eximium fuisse, et animum in instaurandis literis maximum, et labores felicissimos, et rerum denique divinarum atque humanarum stupendam, pro illius præsertim temporis captu, cognitionem, quæ diutissime (si quid conijcere liceat) supererunt, ipsorum opera loquentur. Sed viros egregios hac contumelia affici, a quoquam quidem indignum est; a Bellarmino vero indignissimum; quem nemo, opinor, eruditus negaverit Scioli nomine multo esse quam Erasmum et Vallam, digniorem. De Libr. Supp. See Pope Blount, p. 326.

#### THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

This council, says F. Paul, condemned the following proposition taken from Erasmus:

When they who have been baptized in their infancy arrive to years of discretion, they are to be asked whether they will ratify their baptism. If they refuse, they should be left at liberty so to do.

The fathers of the council inveighed vehemently against Erasmus, as the inventor of this doctrine, which they called impious and pernicious, and proper to open the way to the abolition of christianity. They added, that if the circumcised children of the Jews were obliged, when they were come to riper years, to observe the whole law, and liable to punishment when they transgressed it, it was far more fit to oblige the children of the faithful to keep the law of Jesus Christ; that the university of Paris had justly condemned this doctrine of Erasmus; and that the council ought also to condemn it.

‘I see not,’ says Dr. Courayer, ‘what danger there was in this proposition, and still less how it could be treated as impious; since assuredly Erasmus had proposed it as a proper method of establishing piety, and of admitting amongst Christians only such as were so, sincerely and willingly. Another thing to be observed, as tending to justify Erasmus, is, that he had only proposed it as a thought which

he left to be examined and determined by the clergy, and not as a law which he wanted to impose upon the church. This may suffice to excuse him from the imputation of rashness, if any one should not be disposed to clear him from the charge of imprudence.' F. Paul, t. i. b. 11. p. 391.

## AMCENITATES LITERARIÆ.

Eandem fortunam [cremari, scilicet] sæpius Magni Erasmi, quem Bellarminus inter semichristianos retulit, ac Forerus dignum censuit, qui ex omnium hominum memoria erasus esset, libros<sup>1</sup> fuisse expertos, haud abs re conjicio. Acriter scilicet vir summus inscitiam monachorum sui ævi, intolerabili junctam fastui, in scriptis suis passim pupugerat, atque ita implacabile in se eorum converterat odium, quod ab illis in posteros, etiam licet multo meliores, propagatum est. En unicum ex recentioribus testem, Arsenium Sulger, ordinis Benedictini monachum :—<sup>2</sup> Desiderius Erasmus<sup>m</sup>, vineæ Dei callida devastatrix vulpecula, alter Lucianus, cui et merito potuisset pro epitaphio inscribi, ERASMUS. Nec scio, uter Catholicæ pietati plus damni dederit Lutherus, an ejus prodromus Erasmus; ille palam insaniendo, iste clam virus evulgando: certe sola ejus Colloquia plus quam Chaldaicis flammis digna pronuncio, quæ quo demulcent blandius, perimunt inopinatus, et dulce venenum tam dissimulanter instillant, ut non citius te perire sentias, quam periisti. Fuit olim Eremita Augustinianus, et, teste Brietio, monachorum hostis acerrimus. Fertur quoque expectatione cardinalitiæ dignitatis, ad quam illum Paulus III. evehere cogitaverit, retentus ab aperta fidei Catholicæ ejuratione; adeo etiam honores malos exterius in officio continere quandoque possunt, ne appareant saltem pessimi.<sup>3</sup> Neque vero mirandum, tam exosas esse monachis Erasmi lucubrationes, cum eas ipse Vaticanus Præsul, Paulus IV. rogo publice injiciendas Romæ curaverit: de quo alio tempore plura<sup>n</sup>. Tom. vii. p. 110.

Vidimus nos haud semel istiusmodi libros fenestratos et cancellatos, atque truculentam censorum manum jam passos,

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Wagensell, l. c. p. 592.

<sup>2</sup> In Annalibus Imperialis Monasterii Zwifaltensis, pars ii. p. 128. sq.

<sup>3</sup> Vide interim J. H. Hottingeri Histor. Eccles. N. T. tom. ix. p. 406.

et Ulmæ quidem in Bibliotheca publica S. Hieronymi opera, ab Erasmo edita. Ipsius vero Erasmi lucubrationes Christophorus Arnoldus, Norimbergæ suæ quondam decus, in Bibliotheca publica Daventriensi ab ineptis glutinatoribus per omnes paginas charta fenestrata in locis istis obtectas, in quibus acerrimi iudicii scriptor temporis istius ecclesiam et mores religiosorum notaverat, perlustrasse se testatur: proinde iudicans, operæ fore pretium, si quis glutinatorum vestigia relegens, chartis scalpello parum elevatis, insignes illas περικοπας exciperet. Verum isthoc labore opus haud esse arbitror, cum otium nobis fecerint Indices Expurgatorii, e quibus facilius loca illa cognoscere licet. Disces inde non sine indignatione, magna, eaque optima sui parte truncari eximia viri laudatissimi scripta. Equidem in Indice Belgico, Philippi II. jussu concinnato, permulta jam in iis expungenda fuere indicata: longe tamen plura abolita et recisa (delendis enim vix integra sufficerent atramentaria) vult in suo Bernardus de Sandoval et Roxas<sup>o</sup>, cardinalis et archiepiscopus Toletanus, qui non Erasmi tantum nomini AUCTORIS DAMNATI elogium adscribi, sed et ejus operum fronti hoc stigma inuri jussit: ‘Opera omnia Erasmi caute legenda: tam multa enim insunt correctione digna, ut vix omnia expurgari possint.’ Videbis ibi integras paginas, integras epistolas, non ab eo duntaxat ad alios, verum etiam ab aliis, iisque non raro ecclesiæ Romanæ deditissimis, cardinalibus etiam ac episcopis, ad ipsum exaratas, lituris devotas, imo integra opera, Colloquia videlicet familiaria, Moræ Encomium, Christiani Matrimonii Institutionem, &c. expuncta. Mirum quod non etiam proscripta sit epistola Leonis X. P. M. Novo Testamento præmissa, et debitis Erasmus laudibus prosequens, ad cujus marginem ponenda mandantur verba: ‘Dulcibus encomiis pius Pater nutantem ovem allicere conatur.’ E synodi præterea Tridentinæ decreto, Adagiorum ejus Chiliades corrigendæ traditæ fuerunt Paulo Manutio, sub cujus nomine ita refictæ et castratæ dein prodierunt, ne quidem mentione Erasmi ha-

<sup>o</sup> P. 228. sqq. edit. Genev. 1619. Minus igitur recte Ben. Arias Montanus, in Præfatione Indicis Belgici existimavit, in eo observata esse loca omnia, in quibus aliqua vel minima offensio, vel offensionis suspicio notari posset, nullis etiam levissimis rebus prætermissis.

bita utpote istorum censorum iudicio digni, cujus nomen in perpetua oblivione jaceat. Tom. viii. p. 353.

Haud potuit Erasmus evitare Pauli IV. rigidam sententiam, qua non omnia duntaxat ejus opera, sed et scripta Patrum, illius cura emendatius in lucem emissa, Romæ ad ignes condemnavit. Ita enim Bullingerus ad Ambrosium Blaureum, A. 1557. 'Exurit libros Romæ Paulus IV. et quidem Erasmi Roterodami omnes. Nunc et Cyprianus, Hieronymus, Augustinus comburuntur, eo quod Scholiis Erasmi sint (ut os fœculentum ait) coinquinati.' Tom. viii. p. 499.

### CANISIUS.

Nondum anni sunt L. quod Erasmus Roterodamus in humanis fuit, vir sane sua ætate ubique percelebris et præclaræ inter doctos existimationis. Fuit in eo, quod negari non potest, ingenium lepidum et perjucundum, Latinæ Græcæque linguæ peritia singularis, eruditio multiplex, mira scribendi facilitas et copia, eloquentia vero, ut illis temporibus, rara et admirabilis. Cæterum, quemadmodum diligentia ejus et doctrina ad bonarum artium studia excitanda atque a barbarie vindicanda, multis haud parum contulit, ita rursus, si libere dicendum est, in rebus Christianæ religionis et quæ ad theologiam spectant, tum sibi tum aliis haud parum incommodavit. Etenim, qua ipse usus est, hanc alios etiam docuit immodicam libertatem in Veterum scriptis, in Ecclesiæ constitutionibus, in theologorum sententiis, in publicis ritibus judicandis, imo et convellendis atque exagitandis. Igitur, quod Veteres de Philone viro disertissimo dicere consueverunt: Aut Philo Platonizat, aut Plato Philonizat; hoc permulti de ipso etiam tandem pronunciarunt in hunc modum: Aut Erasmus Lutherizat, aut Lutherus Erasmizat. Et tamen fatendum est, si sincere judicare velimus, inter Erasmum et Lutherum plurimum interesse. Ille Catholicum semper nomen retinuit, hic Ecclesiæ Catholicæ manifestus non solum desertor, sed impius etiam oppuglator, multarumque sectarum caput extitit: ille arte potius quam potestate, sicut de Juliano dixit Orosius, religionem est insectatus, magnam sæpe suis vel opinionibus vel erroribus cautionem ac moderationem adhibens; hic autem natura vehemens, turbulentus, ardens, factiosus, modum omnem

excessit, ad extremaque ruit præceps, tam arrogans ut nulli cederet, tam durus et pertinax in sententiis, ut suis etiam sæpe visus sit intolerabilis, tanto demum ecclesiæ odio inflammatus, ut ad illius exitium aperto Marte et furiosissime nihil non moliretur. Judicavit Erasmus quæ in theologorum doctrina et ecclesia improbanda corrigendaque putabat, atque ita, sive sciens sive imprudens, Momum egit, ut magnam simul fenestram Luthero et aliis aperuerit ad religionem universam innovandam, et ad tumultus eos concitandos, quos in Christiano orbe nunc maximo malo consecutos esse videmus, satisque deplorare non possumus. Unde illud etiam a multis usurpari cœpit: Ubi Erasmus innuit, sive joco scilicet, sive serio agens, illic Lutherus irruit, et quæ ille ova posuit, hic tandem excubavit. Illud certo constat, theologica Erasmi scripta, quæ permulta ille quidem edidit, nec posse hodie, nec debere undequaque defendi; quandoquidem censura ecclesiastica, quæ apud orthodoxos quidem valet ac valere debet plurimum, Erasmica scripta, paucis exceptis, legi vetuit, et gravissimas ob causas, licet auctorem ipsum non damnaverit, tamen ejus opera, velut lectoribus obfutura potius quam profutura improbavit. De Corruptel. Verb. D. lib. v. c. 10.

#### BARLÆUS.

Caspar Barlæus was one of the defenders of Erasmus, and published a book against Bogerman; *in quo etiam crimina a Matthæo Slado impacta Erasmo Roterodamo diluuntur*. Bayle Dict. *Barlæus*,

#### CLARMUNDUS.

Burckhard, in the Preface to his Life of Hutten, mentions a disguised author, who called himself Clarmundus, and wrote, besides other Lives, that of Erasmus. Menckenius assures us that this Clarmundus is a most stupid and despicable author. Vit. Politian. p. 432. I know nothing more of him.

#### TERENUMUS.

Joannes Terenumus (alias Vryspenninek) in Epistola ἀνεκδότω ad Abr. Ortelium scripta, 15 Junii, 1561,



‘—poteris igitur cum prima occasione ejusmodi picturas, alias sculpturas, mittere experimenti loco: optime autem forent historiæ Veteris et Novi Testamenti, figuræ illustrium virorum, Catholicorum, ut ita dicam; nam *Erasmum* jam hæreticum hic habent, tum passionis Christi, tum, &c.’  
Mr. de Missy.

### GERARD BRANDT, and GROTIUS.

‘About four years before the death of Kempis (*i. e.* A. 1467.) on Simon and Jude’s day, was born that great miracle of wit and learning Desiderius Erasmus, at Rotterdam, (his name in our mother-tongue was Gerrit Gerritsøn<sup>p</sup>) *who hath so well showed us the way to a true reformation,* (I describe him in the words of that great man of Delft, that was afterwards so like him in many things, that fell short of him in very few, and in some exceeded him) *never suffering himself to be enslaved by disputable questions, nor by the ceremonies of either party. We Hollanders can never sufficiently thank this man; and for my own part, I think myself happy, that at this distance I can in some measure comprehend his virtues.*’ *Hist. of the Ref.* vol. i. p. 29.

### SIMON.

This critic<sup>q</sup> is not inclined, upon the whole, to favour Erasmus; and sometimes he censures him upon things which are of no great importance. He himself lies much more open to rebuke than Erasmus; and all that he hath set forth in behalf of tradition, and for the authenticity of the Vulgate, is mere shuffle, and vile sophistry. Whether he believed what he said, is another point, on which I shall determine nothing.

He allows Erasmus to have been a learned man, and a good grammarian; he calls him the most able critic of his time, even in sacred literature, and one who gave great light

<sup>p</sup> Grotius in a letter to Uitenbogaert.

<sup>q</sup> *H. Crit. du N. T.* Pref. p. 2. and p. 48. 203. 205. 214. 339. 364. *H. Crit. des Versions, &c.* p. 150. 151. 158. 242. *H. Crit. des Comment. du N. T.* p. 130. 504. 638. *Diss. Crit. sur les MSS. du N. T.* p. 3. *Nouv. Observ.* p. 121. 486. 4to edd.

and help to those that came after him. He thinks that Erasmus was too bold and free, that he wrote with too much precipitation, and undertook too many works at once. Erasmus would have acknowledged part of this charge to be true.

He accuses Erasmus of too much rigour in some of his censures on the Vulgate (others have made the same remark), and of being too solicitous to avoid barbarisms in his own version. There is something mean and sycophantic in his accusing Erasmus of favouring Arianism.

He blames him for having supposed that the Greek MSS. of the N. T. had been sometimes adulterated, and corrected from the Latin version, by the Greeks. And yet Simon himself denies not the fact totally, but affirms that it was rather done by the Latins than by the Greeks. Whosoever did it, it hath certainly been done.

He blames Erasmus for his frequent digressions, and his ridiculing the divines and the monks, in his notes on the N. T. It is true that some of those episodes seem rather out of place; but they are so ingenious and useful, that it is better that they should be where they are, than that we should have been deprived of them.

He extols Stunica too much, when he says that this Spaniard was not only skilled in Hebrew, but that he understood Latin and Greek as well as Erasmus.

He blames Erasmus for having said that the style of Origen is clear: and it must be owned that this is not one of Origen's accomplishments, who is rather inelegant, obscure, and embarrassed.

One of Simon's favourite paradoxes was his hypothesis of the *Rouleaux*. He supposed that the Hebrews wrote their sacred books upon small sheets of paper (or something that served for paper), and rolled them up one over another upon a stick; and that these sheets not being fastened together, it came to pass, in process of time, that some of them were lost, and others displaced.

We might as well suppose that the artist who invented a pair of breeches had not the wit to find some method to fasten them up; and that men walked for several centuries with their breeches about their heels, till at length a genius arose, who contrived buttons and button-holes.

## CRENIUS.

Erasmus scripsit *Laudem Stultitiæ*, in qua, censente Jacobo Pontano lib. iii. Progymn. *se ipsum stultum fieri et ridiculum non animadvertit* : quod Jesuitæ judicium minime miramur, quia Moria ista sua, qua studia et mores theologorum sui sæculi salse perstrinxit, crabrones Erasmus sic irritavit, ut omni fere apud Papistas exciderit gratia. Inde et Bernardus Gualtheri in dedicatione Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri Orationi pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Ciceronianum Erasmi præfixa, et a se editæ Colonix A. 1600. in 12. Erasmus his petit verbis: *Erasmiani (non) nisi e Moria, hoc est Stultitia, sapere discunt; eorumque Corruptunt mores colloquia prava, ut vere est a Menandro Comico pronunciatum.* Putat autem Colloquia Erasmi, de quibus diximus in quarta nostrarum Animadversionum parte. Crenius, De erudit. comparanda, p. 180.

## CAVE.

Summa officinæ Frobenianæ gloria erat magnus ille Erasmus, sæculi sui decus, quem semper patronum, sæpius domi suæ per plures menses hospitem habuit Frobenius; cujus stupenda cura et indefessa diligentia Irenæi, Cypriani, Hilarii, Hieronymi, Augustini, aliorumque opera undique conquisita, accurate recognita, bonis avibus exierunt, iteratis editionibus non semel ibidem repetita. Hist. Lit. Proleg. p. xxvii.

## BAILLET.

Some Extracts from Baillet.

Cardinal Perron gives us a mean idea of the critical talents of Erasmus; and says, that he hath committed great faults in the judgments which he hath passed upon authors.

Maussac observes, that, in the *Ciceronianus* there is much passion and envy against the authors who are called over, many injurious expressions, and low buffoonery, both with regard to Cicero, the father and the source of Roman purity, and with regard to his followers, and particularly to the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who thought that they had hit upon the true Ciceronian manner.

He compares Erasmus to a banditto, who stopping no where, and thinking every thing to be lawful prize, scours and pillages the country. And yet Erasmus was sometimes in the right, and principally where he explains himself against those, who boasting that they imitated Cicero alone, condemned every thing that was not in the style of this orator, without examining whether the times, persons, and places, and the subjects which are handled, would admit of that manner, and those expressions.

Julius Scaliger made two orations, or rather invectives, against this work of Erasmus; but with too much heat, as he afterwards acknowledged himself; and with so little success, that his son Joseph, to save the honour of his name and family, employed all possible means to suppress these declamations, without being able to accomplish his design.

As to the style of the *Ciceronianus*, Borremans says that Erasmus hath observed in it neither *decorum*, nor uniformity; and that, far from speaking like a Ciceronian himself (in the person of a Ciceronian) and from following the maxims which he prescribes to others, he runs into another extreme, into the poetical style; that he often quits Cicero, to speak of the poets, as though he had forgotten his subject; and that this new censor pretended to pass sentence upon contemporaries, whose works he had never read.

It is difficult enough to fix upon a true medium between the panegyrics of his admirers and the accusations of his enviers.

Every one agrees that he had a vast genius, a great extent of reading, and as great a facility of writing; that he was most laborious and indefatigable, and that it would be hard to name any person who contributed more than he to the re-establishment and improvement of the belles lettres.

Scioppius\* says that he had a divine genius, and had joined art and industry to a most extraordinary fund of erudition.——

Vives†, with a sort of reserve, says of him that he was an ingenious censor of the works of the antients. And yet this is no small commendation, when we consider how difficult it was then to perform the true office of a critic.

\* De Arte Critic. p. 6.

† Apud M. Adam Vit. Germ.

For, living in an age which was unpolished, and lay under a cloud of ignorance and barbarity not yet dispelled, he both preserved himself from the infection, and with unspeakable success attempted to remove it out of the world. And though he could not bring things to a state of perfection, it was a great deal to open the way to others, to have first attempted a critical review of the Fathers, and, by correcting a multitude of faults in the copies of their works, to have given, as Rhenanus observes, such proofs of a singular presence and penetration of mind. So that even his enviers have been forced to own, that for many centuries there had never been found in one man more solidity of judgment, more good taste and discernment, joined to a consummate erudition.

This made the same author say, that we are obliged to Erasmus for having contributed in part to the re-establishment of *positive divinity*, which the *scholastic* had expelled or overwhelmed, and for having by his industry brought men back to the study of the Fathers, whom the chicanery of the schoolmen had caused to be neglected and despised in later ages. He adds, that for the space of a thousand years no person had arisen so well versed in all good authors ecclesiastical and classical.—

Here is perhaps a part of the things which may be or have been said in his commendation; and if some excess be remarked in these eulogies, there is at least as much in the accusations with which others have loaded him.

Of the declaimers who have inveighed against him, the most famous, doubtless, is Julius Scaliger, who treats him as the most despicable of all writers. He says, amongst other things, that his works are mere prattling, words amassed without choice, without study, without discretion, without wit, without common sense; that he is the corrupter of pure Latinity, the destroyer of eloquence, the executioner of letters, the dishonour of learning and learned studies, the pest and poison of all ages, and the father of lies; that neither the literary nor the Christian republic can subsist with honour, whilst his works are extant; that he is a viper, a fury, a Busiris, a jakes, a dunghill, and a triple parricide.

Poor Erasmus drew all these compliments upon himself, for having said in one of his Dialogues, that there are in the

world bad imitators of the antients, and for having confessed that in the days of his youth he did not relish Cicero, because he did not know him sufficiently. Scaliger, thinking that he had not insulted Erasmus enough in his first invective, drew up a second of the same kind against the *Ciceronianus*.

The quarrel which Erasmus had with all the world was of more importance than that with Scaliger: for he drew upon himself the censures both of Catholics and Heretics, for not having confined himself within the bounds of his profession<sup>t</sup>, which was philology, for the advancement of which he seemed to be born, as Aubertus Miræus observes.

But by a temerity and presumption, so incident to the human understanding, he would act the theologer, and thought himself capable of reasoning upon the doctrines of religion, and the discipline of the church. Here he failed, in the opinion of the Catholics and the Heretics; and having equally offended both, he was rejected as heterodox, and none would acknowledge him as a person of their communion, as Verheiden testifies, though a Protestant. This appeared more especially after he had published a treatise to conciliate the contending parties, and set himself up for a judge and an arbitrator.

Therefore Bellarmin placeth him amongst the half-christians, Possevin and Salmero say that he ought not to be reckoned amongst the children of the Romish church, and several Catholics have treated him as a lover of novelities.

On the other hand the Protestants disown him, and either give him to us, or range him among the doubters; as may be seen in Alstedius<sup>u</sup>.—

There are also persons of both communions, who accuse him of having so misinterpreted and enervated the texts of scripture relating to the divinity of the Son of God, as to give cause for a suspicion that he inclined a little to the sentiments of the antient Arians. He hath been considered as

<sup>t</sup> What do these men mean by his *profession*; since he was a doctor of divinity?

<sup>u</sup> *Encyclop. t. iv. de Histor.*

the forerunner of the Socinians and modern Photinians, as Quenstedt <sup>w</sup> informs us. And indeed Socinus claims him for his own; and writing to one of that sect, he tells <sup>x</sup> him that Erasmus had examined all the passages relating to the person of Christ with such scrupulous diligence, that he had, not without cause, made himself suspected of Arianism by the Trinitarians, and given reason to the Unitarians to account him inclined, secretly at least, to their opinion.

Nevertheless, it ought to be candidly acknowledged that Erasmus hath been accounted somewhat more heterodox in this point than he really was.

But it is not so easy to excuse in Erasmus that excessive liberty which he assumed of delivering his sentiments concerning ecclesiastical discipline, and of censuring all the abuses and disorders with which he supposed it to be infected, as if he would have set himself up for the Aristarchus of the age.

He himself acknowledged to Rhenanus, and to other friends, that he had inconsiderately advanced several things, of which an ill use might be made, and from which bad consequences might be drawn, though his intentions had been honest and harmless. He often protests, that if he had foreseen the disorders which the Lutherans and Sacramentarians excited in the church, he would have used more care and caution; that is to say, he would not have attacked so rashly the ecclesiastics and the monks, or have taken upon him to censure, without being authorised, the corruptions, as they had seemed to him, both of discipline in general, and of particular orders or persons.

In an answer to Luther, and in a letter to pope Adrian, he makes the same declarations. He had indeed just reason to condemn his own censorious and bantering disposition; and a Protestant writer <sup>y</sup> hath observed well enough, that Erasmus did more harm to the pope by his railleries, than Luther by his invectives.

And yet, with all his facetiousness, he could be often splenetic and severe; so that Grynæus <sup>z</sup>, who artfully insi-

<sup>w</sup> Dial. de Patriis Vir. Illustr. p. 121, 122.

<sup>x</sup> Epist. ad Franc. David, p. 186. ap. Gerhard. Patrol. p. 693.

<sup>y</sup> Jo. Jae. Grynæus ap. Melch. Ad.

<sup>z</sup> De Clavigny de Sainte Honor. Usag. des Liv. susp. p. 35.

nuated his doctrines by an apparent modesty and civility, told Erasmus sometimes, that his satirical and insulting manner caused his arguments to be less efficacious.

The Faculty of Louvain gave a commission to Hentenius, a Dominican, to collect from all the works of Erasmus all erroneous and scandalous propositions, that they might be carried to the Council of Trent. He made a large collection; and pretending to have found there many errors, concerning human constitutions, ceremonies, vows, celibacy, marriage, the power of the pope, choice of meats, abstinence, feasts, fasts, and war, without enumerating his calumnies against persons of eminent rank in the church, he adds that Erasmus would never acknowledge his faults, but always alleged plausible excuses, under which were concealed a fraud and a malice capable of imposing upon simple-minded persons, who suspected no evil.

But it is visible that this report of Hentenius is somewhat exaggerated, and that he was determined to make Erasmus an heretic, in spite of himself, with a view to get him condemned by a zeal rather too precipitated, as it may be seen in the *Bibl. Belgica* <sup>a</sup>.

There are, it is true, some *indices* of prohibited books, wherein he is ranked amongst heretics, and his books condemned in the whole, and without any distinction: not, says Possevin <sup>b</sup>, that there is not a multitude of good things in many of his writings, but because there is a certain air of pride and vanity, which runs through them all, and he sets up for an independent author, producing no vouchers, and hath given occasion to some heresies. However, some discrimination hath been made since; and the inquisitors having absolutely prohibited his *Colloquies*, his *Moria*, his treatise *On the Tongue*, his *Christian Marriage*, his book in defence of the free Use of Meats, and his *Paraphrase on St. Matthew*, have permitted the reading of the rest, after they had been corrected with a scrupulous kind of diligence. A collection of these laborious corrections may be found in the *Apparatus of Possevin*, and in the *Index of Sotomayor* <sup>c</sup>.

But whatsoever these censurers may have said against

<sup>a</sup> Val. And. p. 177.

<sup>b</sup> Appar. Sacr. p. 151. 419, 420,

<sup>c</sup> Poss. ap. 421 ad 458. Ind. Exp. Sotom.



Erasmus, that should not hinder us from firmly believing that he lived and died in the bosom of the Catholic church; and that, if some of his advice had been followed, a part of the heretics would probably have returned to the communion of the Roman church. Upon this subject see Mercier<sup>d</sup>, towards the end of his book.

It remains only to relate some of the judgments which have been made concerning his style, his manner, and his compositions. Rhenanus says that his style was regular, easy, natural, agreeable, neat, and flowing; that he had made himself a master in it by long habit and continual exercise, and that it was regulated by a solidity of judgment which never forsook him. Yet he adds that Erasmus had not been so happy in imitating the purity and the manner of Cicero, as several other writers of less merit than he. But, says he, this small defect is abundantly compensated by many other advantages far more important than a bare classical purity, which the subject itself will not always admit.

If we will allow Erasmus himself to be a competent judge in his own cause, we must confess that he deserves not to be ranked amongst the Ciceronians, and the elegant composers; that he was rather a scribbler than an author; that he spent all his days in transcribing, correcting, and commenting the works of others; that he produced and polished nothing of his own; that he threw his first thoughts upon paper, rude and indigested as they were; that he wrote with too much precipitation, and never could prevail upon himself to revise what he had written; that he affected not the style of Cicero, and pretended not to his air and manner; that he used ecclesiastical and inelegant words and phrases, and low and mean expressions.

So frank a judgment passed upon himself doth him no dishonour; and whilst he points out to us some of his defects, he shows us at the same time that he was a man of good sense. He did not follow this method of writing in a lower style, through ignorance of the grand and the sublime, and he gave sufficient reasons to satisfy those who would have obliged him to use Ciceronian expressions. He could not endure the superstition of these men, who, being

<sup>d</sup> Nic. Mercer. Vit. Erasmi. num. 60—64.

slaves and adorers of Pagan antiquity, had made themselves a law to say and to write nothing for which they had not the authority of Cicero, or of some other antient author, and which was not brilliant and sententious.

In his *Ciceronianus*, having observed that Bembo and Longolius had disgraced themselves by preferring this servile eloquence to good sense, and having commended Sadollet as one who wrote prudently and conformably to the present state of religion, and preferred ecclesiastical terms to Ciceronian words, which would have been forced and unnatural, and yet always kept as close to a purity of style as his subject would permit, he would have been blame-worthy if he had not himself practised these rules which he gave to others.

But although the style of Erasmus be not Ciceronian, yet neither is it so bad as his own modesty and the censure of his envious critics have represented it. It hath both neatness and purity, in the opinion of many good judges. It is masculine and nervous, and neither brilliant nor pompous nor affected, intended rather to instruct the reader than to make a parade of the writer's wit.

Another and a more material exception to that universal erudition ascribed to Erasmus by his admirers, is his deficiency in the Greek tongue. Halesius<sup>d</sup> says that as a critic he hath performed very well upon Latin, but not upon Greek authors. Marianus Victorius<sup>e</sup>, who gave us an edition of Jerom, goes further, and affirms that he knew nothing at all of Greek.

But Jos. Scaliger was of a quite contrary opinion, and so was Huetius, who hath greatly commended his translations from the Greek. It is however generally allowed that he was not the best Grecian of his age, and in this respect was inferior to Budæus.

As to his works, in general, they show forth that subtle and discerning genius, which Scaliger and others have ascribed to him; so that Verderius the younger<sup>f</sup> had small reason to say that he had mean and moderate talents: he is not perhaps quite so far in the wrong, when he accuses Erasmus of too much self-love and self-conceit.

<sup>d</sup> Not. ad Chrys. in Paul. ad Hebr.

<sup>e</sup> Præf. ad Hier.

<sup>f</sup> Cl. Verder. Cension. Auct. p. 159.

Scaliger allows his Adages to be an excellent work, but rather too diffuse, and too ostentatious of learning, &c.

Colerus <sup>ε</sup> says that his Dialogues are learned, witty, and judicious.

As to the juvenile and grammatical works of Erasmus, he hath himself taught us how to judge of them. He says that he composed some of them to amuse himself and exercise his style, without premeditation, or any design of printing them, and that he drew up some for the use of school-boys, as his Colloquies, which would have slept in obscurity, if one Holonius, who had met with a copy of them, had not sold them for a good sum to Froben, pretending that other printers had importuned him to part with them, and had offered him his own price.

Another book, as he says, was printed under his name with the impertinent title of *Elegantiarum Paraphrases*, so interpolated and spoilt, that he would have been ashamed to dictate such stuff even to boys.

His scholars, to whom he used to read lectures, did him ill offices of this kind, and published in the same silly manner his tract *De conscribendis Epistolis*, and another *De Principiis Rhetorices*.

He also makes some complaints of the first publication of his Letters.

Amongst other apologies for his Colloquies, he tells cardinal Wolsey, that he would be well pleased if any person would take the pains to strike out from them every thing that had given offence, and so to make them fit for the use of young students.

Nicolas Cannius <sup>h</sup>, who had been his amanuensis, attempted to perform this. His work is not extant: but Mercier, sub-principal of the college of Navarre, undertook it; and having purged the Colloquies of every offensive passage, he added notes useful for schools, and a new dialogue of his own.

Let us add a word concerning his book which he called *Encomium Moriaë*, alluding to the name of his good friend More, to whom it was dedicated.

<sup>•</sup>Paul Jovius condemns it as a work unbecoming an eccle-

<sup>ε</sup> De Stud. politic. p. 208.

<sup>h</sup> Val. Andr. p. 178.

siastic; and the reading of it hath been justly prohibited. Erasmus endeavoured to excuse himself, by pleading that at the time when he composed it the church enjoyed an happy calm, and that he could not then foresee the storm which Luther excited afterwards, and the ill use which the enemies of the church would make of that ludicrous piece.

Notwithstanding these considerations, Charles Patin thought proper to reprint it not long ago, with remarks of his own, and with figures which are of the grotesque kind.

Scaliger would not allow him to be a good poet: but it appears not that Erasmus ever thought himself to be one, or hoped to excel that way.—

#### PERRON.

‘ Erasmus commits great faults in the judgment which he passeth upon authors.—He is a great enemy to the Trinity; a great enemy of traditions.’ Perroniana.

As cardinal Perron hath spoken contemptuously of Erasmus, others have spoken as contemptuously of the cardinal. The reader, I hope, will not be displeas'd with the following collection, containing an account, favourable and unfavourable, of a man who made a figure, and no small noise in the world; and who disputed against the Protestants, in all probability, with more vehemence than sincerity; as with more effrontery than erudition.

‘ The first Catholic who wrote in French upon matters of religion was cardinal Perron. Before him it was so appropriated to Hugonots, that it was esteemed a characteristic of heresy. Du Perron had made himself a sort of colonel-general of literature; and when any one wanted to pass for a scholar, he got himself presented to the cardinal, who, on such occasions, never failed to ask the candidate, Have you read *the author*, or *the French author*? and this author by way of eminence was Rabelais.

‘ Du Perron, in point of virtue and religion, was esteem'd neither amongst the Hugonots nor amongst the Catholics. His French poems are execrable. He had a cheap

victory over poor Du Plessis Mornay, who had not read the authors that he had cited, and had trusted to collections which others made and put into his hands.—He was condemned too hastily on some points, as for instance, on Durandus, who, as well as the author of the Epistle to Cæsar, was certainly against transubstantiation, &c.

‘Du Perron was much in the wrong to collect together and present to view all the passages which the Protestants have extracted from the ten volumes of St. Augustin; for, as he sometimes gives poor answers, it hath a bad effect. Guy Patin says that he died of a foul disease. That is not true; he died of the stone, for which he would not be cut. He was known at court even in the time of Henry III. but made no figure there. The fair Gabrielle<sup>k</sup> brought him into the king’s favour. He was a man determined to make his fortune at any rate, and had nothing else in view and at heart. He was a Thraso, who had more show than learning, and a better courtier than a divine.’ Longueruana, i. 14. 122. ii. 140.

[He is not the only ecclesiastic who hath made his fortune by that *polite method*. It is said, in a French *Relation of Muscovy*, that in the last century a man was created patriarch of that nation because he had the finest beard of any of his countrymen. *Patriarchal beards*, like comets, have only blazed now and then; whilst the *Gabrielles* have had a much greater share in furnishing the church with luminaries.]

‘I am able to judge of styles, because I have spent twenty-five whole years in turning over good authors, Latin, Greek, and Italian. For fifteen years together I always carried in my pocket The Orator of Cicero.’

This is the judgment which the cardinal modestly passeth upon himself, in the Perroniana. And how able he was to judge of styles appears from his deciding that Quintus Curtius is one of the most excellent Latin writers, and that the next to him is Florus.

‘Cardinal Perron was an everlasting talker. When he was fallen upon the subject of I know not what council, he never knew when to give over. As soon as his valet-de-

<sup>k</sup> Mistress to Henry IV.

chambre found him entering into that topic, he used to take his cloak, and say to his comrades, *Andiamo al bordello*, intimating that they would have time enough, and to spare.' Menagian. ii. 197.

'Perron was a man of wit, but of no learning.' Menag. ii. 385.

'Perron was well answered by Casaubon. He told the king that father Coton was a prater. I know not which was the more learned of the two.—He is very ambitious, and no scholar; a mere babbler, who pleases the ladies. When I was at Paris, he was my shadow, and followed me every where. When he was young, he read his Thomas Aquinas; but that is soon forgotten, when a man hath no other foundation.' Scaligerana, p. 307.

'Perron was a very learned prelate: he understood the languages, the belles lettres, history both profane and ecclesiastic, theology, and particularly that of the antient fathers, whom he had read with great care and application, as it appears from his books of controversy, and from his treatise on the Eucharist, which is still looked upon as one of the best on that subject. Pelisson used to say; *I recommend the works of cardinal Perron to all those who would thoroughly understand our controversies.*

'When Perron passed through Venice, the republic deputed to him two learned men to entertain him, Fra-Paolo and Luigi Lollino; and they both equally admired his knowledge and his abilities. It is true that, speaking to them of his disputes with the Protestants, he told them, that having observed the French Hugonots to be ignorant and passionate, he always contrived to provoke them, and set them together by the ears, and thereby easily got the victory over them. But the author of the Life of Fra-Paolo, who relates this circumstance, observes that Perron talked thus only out of modesty. *Per termine di modestia*, &c. Thence perhaps Menage, who had been more conversant with Italian writers than with the works of Perron, was led to conjecture, very much amiss, that this cardinal had more wit than erudition: for as to the things which Patin hath said of him, in his Letters, they are tales which he had learned from the Hugonots. Bentivoglio, in a letter written from Rome to Paris, gives an illustrious testimony to the

memory of Perron, then lately deceased : We have a great loss, says he, in the death of this cardinal, who was the St. Augustin of France, and one of the brightest ornaments of his age. He was ignorant of nothing ; and when he spake concerning any science, it was so much to the purpose, that one might have imagined that he had studied no other.' Vigneul Marville, i. 71.

'Perron was son of a Norman minister and physician, and born at Geneva, and took his name from that of the street in which he was born. It is said of him, that one day, as he stood by the table of Henry III at dinner, he made an excellent discourse upon the existence of God, which so pleased the king, that he commended him for it. Perron replied ; Sire, to-day I have proved that there is a God ; if your majesty will favour me to-morrow with a second hearing, I will prove to you, by reasons full as good, that there is no God. The king, offended at these words, called Perron a rascal, bade him go out, and never appear again in his presence. He acted the zealous Catholic all the days of his life ; but it is said that at the time of his death his conscience compelled him to make a sort of reparation to Du Plessis, and at the same time to truth, which he had insulted in the person of that Protestant. He charged his brother, say they, who succeeded him in the archbishopric of Sens, to present his adieu to that worthy man, and to declare to him that he never honoured any person more than him, and that his last words were employed in his praises. To this he added other and still stronger expressions. The princess of Conti was then present, together with several considerable ecclesiastics, and amongst others the bishop of Châlons, a prelate of reputation ; and some of the company cried out, This is a great confession indeed !

'Certain it is, that although this cardinal made no small figure, and was much talked of during his life, yet after his decease he was not honoured with any funeral oration, and hardly with an epitaph ; which induced several to imagine that his latter end had not edified the Romanists. Thuaus says, that he talked infinitely better than he composed, and that his principal talent consisted in a large share of effrontery. But this passage hath been struck out from later

editions, together with several other things of far more importance.

‘ In the time of Henry IV, there was a project for re-uniting the two religions. It was undertaken by Rotan and Morlas, Protestants, and to them were joined the minister Serres, and Cahier, who soon afterwards was deposed from his ministry, for the crime of sorcery, and for two infamous treatises which he had written. These four persons, and two more whose names are not known, were in hopes that the Protestants would choose them as deputies, to wait upon the king, and intended to betray the party which employed them. Accordingly Rotan was chosen to dispute with cardinal Perron, and had promised to suffer himself to be confuted. But whether it were vanity, or whether it were fear, he changed his mind, pretended to be sick, and drew himself out of the toils.’ Recueil, &c. in the *Bibl. Univ.* xxiv. 361.

‘ In the year 1615, after a hot debate in a general assembly of the three estates at Paris, the pope’s power of deposing princes was assented to by all the nobility and clergy of that kingdom. Some particular persons amongst them may and do oppose it of late ; but they are excommunicated at Rome for doing it ; and thereby declared, as much as they can be, not to be members of their church, for daring to oppose so orthodox and catholic a doctrine as the pope’s power of deposing princes. Nay cardinal Perron saith, in his eloquent oration to the third estate at Paris, who opposed this doctrine, that *unless it were approved, it followed that the church of Rome for many ages hath been the kingdom of Antichrist, and synagogue of Satan.* And king James tells us that *the pope in his letter of thanks to the nobility (of France) for complying with this blessed doctrine, called the commons, or deputies of the third estate, Nebulones ex fæce plebis, a pack of knaves of the dregs of the people.* Very obliging language from the head of the church !—— Cardinal Perron calls that doctrine, which makes princes indeposable by the pope, *A breeder of schisms, a gate that makes way for all heresy to enter ; and a doctrine to be held in such detestation, that, rather than he and his fellow bishops will yield to the signing thereof, they will be con-*



tented, like martyrs, to burn at a stake. Blessed martyrs, and fit to be put in the same calendar with the gunpowder traitors, who suffered on the same principle!—But surely it must be an article of faith, and a main point of their religion, which makes men martyrs, who suffer for it. And such, no doubt, it is accounted amongst them; when the same cardinal saith, *That it leads men not only to unavoidable schism, but manifest heresy, to deny it; and that it obliges men to confess that the Catholic church hath for many ages perished from the earth: for he confidently avows it, that all parties in the Catholic church have held it, and the whole French church, till the time of Calvin; that if this doctrine be not true, the pope is so far from being head of the church, and vicar of Christ, that he is a heretic and Antichrist, and all the parts of the church are the limbs of Antichrist.* And if they be so, we cannot help it, &c.' Stillingfleet, vol. ii. serm. 2. p. 99.

Cardinal Perron said of Gretzer, that he had a great deal of wit, for a German; *Il a bien de l'esprit pour un Allemand.* Bouhours adopted this wise remark, and proposed it as a question, whether a German could possibly be a *bel esprit*; that is, a *Bouhours*. Bayle, *Gretserus*.

*Longa disputatio de Jac. Davio du Perron, auctore cum aliis fuerit cædis Momini: tum, an, habita oratione, qua probat esse Deum, promiserit in diem proximum contrariam, quæ res ita irritarit Henricum III, ut conspectu illi suo interdixerit.*—*Remarques sur Bayle, in the Relat. Gotting.* vol. iii. fasc. 1. p. 117. See also Bayle, *Monin*, and *Belarmin*, not. L.

Perron hath been accused of not believing transubstantiation. Wake on the Eucharist, in *Bibl. Univ.* vi. 287.

‘In the republic of letters, many have more reputation than learning, and many have more learning than reputation. The reputation of men of letters depends upon art, upon fortuitous occasions of making a figure, and upon the opinion of the ignorant and injudicious vulgar. I shall produce, as examples of the former, Perron, and Du Plessis Mornay; and of the latter, Bernard, and Gale, two English scholars.

‘Perron had studied *scholastic* theology; there lay his strength: he had also some kind of skill in *positive* theo-

logy, but not extensive and profound, a few points excepted, which he had more carefully examined on account of the religious controversies which at that time were warmly carried on. Of humanities he had a superficial tincture, and of the Latin and Greek languages; for as to Hebrew he could hardly read it. But all this, wrought up with great art, animated with a fine genius, a lively and ready wit, a flowing eloquence, a good person, and a genteel behaviour, this, I say, imposed first upon the court, which only judgeth by appearances, and then upon the public, and the age in which he flourished, &c.' Huetiana, p. 5.

Concerning Perron see also Pope Blount, p. 624. and Thuanus, lib. ci. p. 154,

### DU PIN.

' Erasmus was rather short of stature, his eyes were blue, and in his youth his hair was of a pale yellow. His countenance, gait, and appearance, were grave and genteel. He had a very tender constitution, and towards the latter part of his life was much afflicted with the gout and gravel. He had a prodigious memory, and a wonderful facility of composing, and wrote with purity and elegance. He had formed a style to himself, which yields in no respect to that of the best writers, although he affected not, like some learned men of his days, to use only Ciceronian expressions. He was, without question, the finest genius and the most learned person of his age. To him we principally owe the re-establishment of literature, the editions of the Fathers, critical knowledge, and a taste for antiquity. He is one of the first who treated theological subjects with dignity, and rescued them from little sophistry and scholastic terms. His works of devotion have an elegance not to be found in the books of the mystics. He censured with a bold freedom the vices of his times, those particularly of ecclesiastics, and the superstition, the hatred of learning, the ignorance and barbarity which then reigned in the schools. Sometimes he could not refrain from speaking too satirically against the monks, the scholastic divines, and some bigotries; but he repented that he had taken such liberties in his younger days, and declared that he would never have done it, if he

had foreseen the Lutheran tempest. The Lutherans and the Sacramentarians found in him a great adversary; and he protested that he would wage everlasting war with them, that he never would favour in any manner their sect or their doctrines, that he would adhere constantly to the communion of the church of Rome, teach no errors, and encourage no tumults. He hath been praised and admired by popes, by princes, and by all the learned of his time. Yet he had many enemies amongst the divines, the monks, and the half-scholars, who accused him of error, of heresy, and of impiety. The liberty with which he had reprov'd them, a general prejudice against every thing that had the air of novelty, an abhorrence of polite literature, and an attachment to vulgar sentiments and common practices, were the causes of the opposition and ill-treatment which he experienced.

‘As for his manners, he was hasty and passionate, yet easily appeas'd. Never man was less ambitious. Far from courting and pursuing honours, he refused the most eminent dignities. His constant and predominant passion was the love of study, which he preferred to all other occupations. He was a hater of luxury, sober, free in his sentiments, sincere, no flatterer, constant in his friendships, easily reconcil'd to those who had offended him, never envying the reputation of others, nor inclined to offend any person. Yet he had much sensibility at libels and insults; he was given to bantering, and impatient at being reprov'd, and treated his adversaries with haughtiness, refuted them with much vivacity, and sometimes with some acrimony. In his youth he was very greatly afraid of dying; but this fear was much diminished towards the end of his life, and he prepar'd himself for a dissolution in a most christian manner.’

RICHARD.

From the Bibliothéque Universelle.

*The sentiments of Erasmus conformable to those of the Catholic Church upon all controverted points, 12°. A Cologne.*

This volume is only the first part of a work, which is to be followed by a second<sup>1</sup>; and the design of this is to show

! Which never came out.

the excellences of Erasmus, as the next is to show the conformity of his sentiments with those of the church of Rome. It appears by the Preface of the author, M. Richard<sup>m</sup>, prior of Beaulieu S. Avoine, that his project is to draw over to the church of Rome those who have an esteem for Erasmus, by showing that he was always an opposer of the Reformers. Such is the author's view; but other uses may be made of the manner in which he hath executed his undertaking, as it will appear from the following extract:

What he proposeth in this volume is reduced to seven articles, which he calls seven truths, upon which he makes divers reflections, accompanied sometimes with digressions, to illustrate his subject. But first, to say a word concerning the method of the author in general, we may observe that the book whence he fetches his materials to compose a panegyric of Erasmus, is a book written by Erasmus himself, who is produced as a witness in his own cause. It is the volume of his own Epistles, of those particularly in which he inveighs against the monks, and against the reformers, and defends himself against his enemies. He attacks the latter with much warmth, and to answer their calumnies he is pretty often obliged to commend himself. All his expressions upon these occasions are here taken for incontestable truths, as though they were geometrical axioms, and as if he had always said all that he thought, without reserve or suppression, in apologies, wherein it behoved him to speak with much circumspection. It is true that this method of writing history is not new, and that the least hints dropped by antient fathers of the church have passed for demonstrations with a certain sort of people, though many of those fathers have been honoured with the title of saints, who deserved it not so well as honest Erasmus.

I. The first truth is, that Erasmus passeth amongst the learned for the most learned man of his time. This is true enough; and the popes, emperors, and princes had just reason to esteem him, and to offer him honours and riches in abundance, as this author shows at large. He thinks that

<sup>m</sup> It is pretended that this is a fictitious name, and that M. de Saint-Amour, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was the author. Burigni, t. ii. p. 546.

Erasmus rejected all these offers by humility, by a contempt of wealth, and for fear lest his Protestant adversaries should have thought that he continued attached to the Roman communion for worldly interest. It would certainly be a rashness to judge unfavourably of the heart of this great man : but yet, without doing the least wrong to his virtue, one might imagine that his generous refusal of ecclesiastical dignities may in some measure be imputed to that LOVE OF LIBERTY, which was always his darling passion. Every one knows that if he had accepted great preferment, or the dignity of a bishop or of a cardinal, he would have entered into a splendid servitude, and could only have written such things as the censors of books would approve ; and that if he had done otherwise, he would have plunged himself into grievous distresses and difficulties. If his books had been printed at Rome, we should not have found in them so many free sentiments upon so many subjects, which the authors of the Index Expurgatorius have condemned.

II. The second truth is, that Erasmus drew upon himself the censures and the calumnies of some doctors and of many mendicant monks, because he re-established the study of literature, because he attacked the vain and useless subtleties taught in the theological schools, and founded upon the reasonings of Aristotle, and because he opposed the false doctrines of the mendicants, and the insupportable tyranny which they exercised over the conscience, the faith, and the manners of pious and worthy persons. The author shows at large, that learning in those days rendered a man suspected of heresy, that scholastic divinity passed unjustly for true christianity, and that the monks had introduced innumerable superstitions, and maintained them with inconceivable violence. All this the Protestants will most readily allow to M. Richard ; but they think that they see the same defects even now in the church of Rome, and some that are still more pernicious, as the loose morality of the Casuists, an evil which did not arise to its height till after the Reformation. Therefore they will not feel themselves much inclined to return to the bosom of a church, which, instead of making a proper use of the lessons of Erasmus, hath rather grown worse from that time forward, as they imagine. They will be apt to say that the Catholic doctors, who desire a re-union,

should try to get those abuses cured which caused the division, before they think of inviting the Protestants over. These will never believe that the church of Rome hath any intention to reform what is amiss, since a schism which hath now continued so long, and the repeated complaints upon that account, have as yet produced nothing. The cruelty of the Inquisition, and ecclesiastical tyranny have increased, and a man in that communion would be treated with the utmost rigour, who should dare to say publicly that images do more harm than good to religion, although this be a palpable truth; and yet the loose sentiments of casuistical divines are publicly tolerated. How can Protestants bring themselves to think that the directors of the church of Rome are under the influence of the Holy Spirit, whilst all those who are well inclined to reformation (as our author himself owns) are brow-beaten, and kept under, and removed from all employments, and the most bigoted superstition is so far from hurting a man, that it helps to make his fortune?

Our writer on this subject hath collected many things worthy to be read and considered, particularly by the divines of his own church, who stand more in need of instruction in these points than the Protestants. Erasmus indeed hath drawn so odious a portrait of his own times, that one would judge that piety had almost perished from the earth, and that nothing remained, as he says, but to write the epitaph of deceased christianity. 'Nihil superest, nisi ut scribam epitaphium Christo nunquam revicturo.' The grief which he felt from considering this deplorable corruption, made him express himself in a more tragical manner than he hath done on other occasions. However, he sometimes defends himself against his calumniators by banter and ridicule; as when he says, They think that St. Francis is very angry with me for having censured the monks, who promise heaven to those who are buried in the doublet of a Franciscan. But not long ago, this saint appeared to me in a dream, *after midnight*<sup>n</sup>, and with a smiling countenance

<sup>n</sup> The author of the Critique de l'Apologie d'Erasmus very justly laughs at Richard for imagining that Erasmus spake seriously; and is also very angry with Erasmus, for thus diverting himself and his readers at the expense of charity and religion, p. 6. Every scholar will see, not

thanked me for what I had said upon that subject. M. Richard indeed supposeth that the fact was true, and that Erasmus related in sober sadness a real vision: but they who are acquainted with Erasmus, will be apt to think that to the visions and revelations of the monks he opposed one of his own, and had as much right to deal in fictions as they.

He gives a large detail of the complaints which Erasmus made to the emperors and popes, of the tyranny of the mendicant friars, who were inquisitors, and who excited the princes to acts of violence, of which, as our author says very well, Jesus Christ hath given us neither precept nor example. He suspects that the same sort of persons, who instigated Charles V to burn the Lutherans, were they who also caused seventeen millions of the inhabitants of the West-Indies, or of Peru, to be massacred, for the sake of possessing their lands, their gold, and their jewels. D. Bartholomew de las Casas, adds M. Richard, bishop of Chappa in New Spain, published a history of these transactions, at Seville, in 1542, which gave such horror to all christians, that Philip II caused it to be suppressed. But it hath been since translated into French, and printed at Paris in 1635, and since at Lions in 1642.

With Erasmus, he exclaims against the cruel inquisitors of the sixteenth century. But then, lest we should misapprehend him, he pretends not to blame the wise conduct of those princes, who punish their heretical subjects, as men who are disturbers of the public peace, and disobedient to the regal ordinances; who require fortified places to be put into their hands, as pledges of the promises made to them by their sovereign; who call in foreign princes to their assistance, when they stand in need of it; and who carry on secret cabals, to revolt upon the first fair occasion. It is not hard to discover whom he hath in view; and if this were a proper place to recriminate, we might say the same of those ecclesiastics, who raised and fomented the wars of

only that Erasmus was in jest, but that he borrowed his joke from Horace, serm. i. x. 32.

Vetuit tali me voce Quirinus  
Post mediam noctem visus, cum somnia vera.

the *League*, and who are still most formidable to kings; because they acknowledge a power superior to that of the civil magistrate. We might say that princes would not deserve to be blamed who should use the same precautions against these men, which have been practised against pretended heretics. But neither these nor those can justly be oppressed and punished for the faults committed by their predecessors.

Our author appears very zealous against those who exalt beyond measure the authority of popes, and depress that of kings and bishops, as the monks did in the days of Erasmus, and as a modern author hath lately done in a book called *Tractatus de Libertatibus Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ*.

After this, follows a long digression, entitled, 'Articles of the conspiracy of the enemies of Erasmus.' Here are displayed, in an ample manner, the vile ways employed by the monks to defame Erasmus, and to ruin him; and many moral reflections are intermixed; and by the persecutions to which poor Erasmus was exposed, the author seems to allude to the sufferings which a certain illustrious person<sup>o</sup> and all his friends have undergone, and still undergo, in the church of Rome. They have been defamed and misrepresented, false extracts have been made from their books, the reading of their works hath been prohibited, they have been accused of favouring heresy and heretics; in a word, they have been served exactly as Erasmus was, with this exception however, that no offers have been made to them of bishoprics and of cardinals' hats. And here the author describes at large the nature of false devotion, the principal character of which is to lay too great a stress upon external and ceremonial acts of religion, which contribute not in the least to purifying the heart.

III. The third truth is, that if Erasmus had favoured Luther, all Germany would have revolted from the church of Rome. If this be not strictly true, yet at least it seems probable enough that Erasmus would have drawn after him no small part of Germany, and have made the Reformation more extensive, on account of his great erudition, and of the great esteem wherein he was held in those regions.

• Arnould, I suppose, and the Jansenists.



The author, who industriously sets forth the disinterestedness of Erasmus, takes occasion to address himself in a very singular manner to some learned men who died in the Protestant communion : Here, says he, I call upon the Scaligers, the Casaubons, the Blondels, and the Grotiuses, who, because they found a better fortune amongst the heretics than in the Catholic church, opposed the orthodox faith. He had done well to have told us what ample fortunes these scholars made amongst the Protestants. Scaliger was honorary professor at Leyden, Casaubon was librarian to the king of England, and Blondel was a professor at Amsterdam, and none of them obtained more than two thousand crowns a year. Is there no better preferment than this to be got in the church of Rome? As to Grotius, he was cruelly treated by his own nation, before the chief of his theological works were composed; he was as ill used afterwards, and never could obtain even a permission to spend the evening of life in his own country. On the contrary, in France he had a pension, and might have hoped for much greater rewards, if he would have embraced the Romish religion, of which indeed he hath spoken with as much mildness and moderation as any reasonable Catholic could desire. He hath even maintained some doctrines of their church, against Protestant divines. If then Richard knew so little of the condition of these illustrious men here upon earth, how could he get better and surer information concerning their state in the other world? Yet he thus speaks of them; ‘ Erasmus is in heaven, and they are in HELL, because they died out of the bosom of the Catholic church.’

IV. The fourth of our author’s truths is, that Erasmus was the greatest enemy to Luther and to the Lutherans. He observes that although Erasmus gave civil answers to Luther, before he knew him, yet he never had any share in his projects, but, on the contrary, always disapproved his boisterous proceedings. The most remarkable things contained under this article, are the observations of our author upon the faults committed by those who combated the Lutheran heresy, which may be reduced to these heads.

1. They suffered a quarrel amongst the mendicant friars,

about the privilege of going a-begging<sup>P</sup>, to blaze out before the public, which should have been instantly smothered. Luther at the first only attacked those superstitions, which all wise men disapproved, as Erasmus assures us: but this stirred up against Luther all the little fellows, who under a Christian name had a Jewish spirit, and who could not bear to see that false devotion set at naught, which is usually the whole of their religion. The learned therefore passed for Lutherans, because they also censured these abuses; and then such contentions ensued, that the evil became incurable, which might have been healed, if only wise and learned men had been employed in the affair.

2. To Luther they only opposed ignorant declaimers, and seditious monks. Here many reflections are laid down concerning the proper methods of dealing with heretics, which may perhaps be of some service to the missionaries who are sent forth into the northern regions.

3. They did not impose silence upon the preachers of both sides, as they ought to have done, and employ in their stead wise, learned, moderate, and peaceable men.

4. Neither party would give up any thing; the monks above all were the least disposed to such compliances. When Adrian VI died, who had some designs of reforming the court of Rome, his project died with him; and Erasmus in vain urged it to the pope, to the emperor, and to several princes.

5. Great cruelties were exercised upon the Lutherans, by the advice of some mendicants.

6. The German bishops were shamefully negligent in the exercise of their pastoral function.

7. None endeavoured seriously to appease the wrath of God, by leading a better life.

8. All Europe was in arms; and the pope, who, as the monks said, had a power to command angels and devils, when it was to their benefit and advantage, had not authority over his own children to restrain them from waging these cruel wars. In the mean time the heretics multiplied, and Oecolampadius wrote upon the eucharist with so much

<sup>P i. e.</sup> to sell indulgences.

learning, acuteness, and eloquence, that, as Erasmus says, he had done enough to seduce even the elect, if God did not interpose. We are here told that Erasmus was preparing to answer him. But Erasmus never did answer him; and doubtless this induced many persons to suspect that he secretly inclined to the sentiments of this reformer. For it is amusing us with an idle tale, to say that Erasmus by mere modesty and humility chose to wait till more able men than himself should undertake that task. The world will always believe, that if he had felt himself as able to manage this and other controverted points, as that upon *free-will*, he would not have scrupled to trespass a little upon his own humility. He was perpetually representing the difficulty of answering the reformers, and the ignorance and incapacity of their antagonists, without attempting to do something better. This made many persons think that, although Erasmus disliked some notions of the Protestants, yet what most displeased him in the Reformation, was the manner in which it was conducted; and that it was this that retained him in the church of Rome. And, indeed he exclaims not so much against their sentiments as against their behaviour, which in his opinion was too hasty and impetuous.

The author, having pointed out these faults, makes some reflections upon the conduct of the elector of Saxony, the most generous prince of that age, who undertook the protection of Luther. He says also that this prince trembled, like a Cain, three days together before his death, God by this judgment reminding him of his heresy: and that Henry VIII expired with these words in his mouth, 'All is lost.' This last stroke he took from Sanders, a writer convicted of so many lies, that it is not safe to trust him in any thing.

V. The fifth truth is proposed with some diffidence, namely, that Erasmus said of Calvin, '*Video magnam pestem oriri in ecclesia, contra ecclesiam*;' Calvin will be a very pestilent fellow in the church: for Erasmus died in 1536, and Calvin was not at Basil before 1535, being at that time twenty-six years of age. But besides, the story comes from Florimond de Raimond, a wretched romancer,

who hath put into the mouth of Erasmus<sup>q</sup> words without a meaning : for all the heretics in the world have arisen in the church, and there is nothing in this remark which characterizes John Calvin. Be that as it will, our author pretends that Erasmus in his works condemned and confuted beforehand all the maxims upon which Calvin founded his reformation.

VI. The next truth is, that Erasmus repented of having in the days of his youth<sup>r</sup> written in too free and jocose a manner against the superstitions and the corruptions which ignorance and self-interest had introduced into the divine service.

But all that Erasmus says upon this head, is, that he could not foresee the contests and the tumults which afterwards arose in the church, and which gave occasion to his enemies to exclaim against him on account of a little innocent railery, which he had employed with a view to cure the minds of men from the superstitions with which he saw them sadly infected.

VII. The last truth is, that Erasmus was no enemy to the monks, but rather their true friend. This he proves by observing that Erasmus had a great esteem for the virtuous part of them, that he advised some of them not to quit their monasteries, and that he only censured the ignorant and vicious monks, who indeed at that time were very numerous. Remarks are here subjoined upon the manner in which Erasmus departed from his monastery, and upon the abuses which had crept into it : an account is given of the complaints which Erasmus made of the monks in his days ; and this article concludes with pious reflections extracted from the works of Erasmus. The whole is closed with just commendations bestowed upon the labours of this illustrious man, particularly upon his Instruction of a Christian Prince ; with complaints that his wholesome advice hath not been fol-

<sup>q</sup> If he had made Erasmus say of this young man, I see many Luthers in Calvin, it had been more to the purpose, and more in the manner of Erasmus. But the booby could not make a tolerable story of it.

<sup>r</sup> Erasmus was no such chick when he published his Colloquies. He was more than fifty years old.

lowed, although Germany owes it to him that she hath not entirely abandoned the Romish religion; with reflections on the piety of Erasmus, and the purity of his faith, which is to be more amply set forth in the next volume; lastly with a *prosopopœia*, wherein Erasmus is introduced in heaven, praying to God that he would give a blessing and good success to this book of Mr. Richard<sup>s</sup>.—Bibl. Univ. vii. 122.

## BIZARDIERE.

*Histoired' Erasme, sa Vie, ses Mœurs, sa Mort, et sa Religion. Par M. De la Bizardiere. Paris, 1721.*

This is a short, slight, and superficial history of Erasmus, by one who favours and defends him. It may be read over in an hour. He hath given a wrong account of the quarrel between Erasmus and Eppendorf; and to show himself a good Catholic, he abuses and calumniates Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Oecolampadius; and selects some spiteful things, which Erasmus, in his wrath, had let fly against the reformers.

He concludes with the judgment of the cardinal De Retz, who, it seems, had said, that if Erasmus had not come too late into the world, he would have been reckoned amongst the Fathers of the Church. ‘Il ne manque à Erasme que l'antiquité, pour être compté parmi les Peres de l'Eglise.

## MARSOLLIER, &amp;c.

*An Account of a Dispute lately started in France concerning this Question, Whether Erasmus was a good Catholic?*

‘The abbot Marsollier published last year an apology for Erasmus, wherein he undertakes to prove that Erasmus was an orthodox Catholic.

*Apologie, ou Justification d' Erasme, par Mr. l'Abbé Marsollier, Chanoine et ancien Prevôt de l'Eglise d'Usez. Paris, 1713, in 12°.*

This author does not pretend to maintain that Erasmus never departed from the opinions commonly received; but

<sup>s</sup> Here follows the story of the pear-tree, which we have inserted in the Life of Erasme. vol. i. p. 57:

every error, says he, is not an heresy. Besides, his constant submission to the judgment of the church is sufficient to clear him from that imputation.

In order to make a more particular apology for Erasmus, the abbot has inserted in his book several extracts of letters written to that learned man by the emperor Charles V, Ferdinand king of Hungary, Sigismund king of Poland, Henry VIII king of England, and by the popes Leo X, Adrian VI, and Paul III, wherein they highly commend Erasmus for opposing Luther, and putting a stop to the progress of his heresy. The popes desire him to write against the heretics: Adrian VI asks his advice about the method of suppressing the errors that disturb the church. Could these princes and popes be ignorant of Erasmus's doctrine? Were they so afraid of him as to dissemble, and flatter him?

If Erasmus complained of several abuses in the church, they were such as the Council of Trent thought fit to reform. In short, the abbot Marsollier sets off the merit of Erasmus to the greatest advantage: he takes notice of all the valuable qualities of that illustrious writer, and of the great services he hath done to the church of Rome.

That Apology has been confuted<sup>t</sup> by an anonymous author<sup>u</sup> in the Memoirs of Trevoux. The interest of the church, says he, requires that the faithful may see the poison concealed under the flowers; that the flock of Jesus Christ be turned away from infected pastures; and that the mask be thrown off from wolves appearing in the disguise of sheep. In what a danger would the faithful be, if, after the reading of Mr. Marsollier's book, they should reckon Erasmus amongst the doctors of the church!—Shall I suffer the faithful to fall into the snare laid for them innocently by well-meaning men? No: I must discover the true character of Erasmus.

The author, having commended Erasmus for many excellent qualifications, adds, that he is one of those dangerous writers, who cannot be read without running the

<sup>t</sup> Refutation de l'Apologie d'Erasmus, A. 1714.

<sup>u</sup> He is, I suppose, father Tournemine, a Jesuit. See Burigni, tom. ii. p. 392.

hazard of losing or weakening one's faith. Erasmus boasted of keeping a medium between Luther and the Catholic church. Let no one therefore represent him as an orthodox doctor. Let us leave him in that medium which he pitched upon.

In the next place the author observes that Erasmus appeared in the world through apostasy; for he left the monastery of the canons of St. Austin. Thus, says the author, a rambling monk, a deserter, an excommunicated person, is represented as a doctor of the church, and a teacher of the spiritual life. He dies in an heretical town, amongst heretics, his best friends and disciples. He dies in their arms, without calling for a Catholic priest, without receiving or desiring the sacraments of the church, without asking for a Catholic burial, without giving any proof of his faith in his last will. Is this to die the death of the righteous? Is this to die the death of the faithful? I repeat it again: here is a doctor of the church very singular: there are none like him.

Erasmus, says the author, being a man of a sweet temper, and an enemy to all manner of constraint, did always look upon liberty and a quiet life as the greatest of all blessings. Besides, being timorous and mistrustful, he was afraid of the very shadow of a danger: fond of his reputation, he was willing to preserve it, without exposing either his life or his liberty; he loved novelties out of taste and vanity; but he was afraid of being brought into trouble upon that account: he was over-ruled by those passions; and they occasioned his several writings by turns. The love of novelties moved him to oppose the common opinions, when he thought he might do it with impunity: timorousness made him put on the outside of a Catholic: lastly, those two passions joining together prevented him from siding with any party. He was neither a Lutheran nor a Catholic: he avoided making a sect; but he gave birth to a very numerous one, I mean that of the Latitudinarians<sup>w</sup>. To prove all those assertions, the author quotes in the first place, Erasmus's Preface to his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. Erasmus, says he, concludes a violent satire against

<sup>w</sup> La Secte des Tolerans.

theology, wherein Thomas Aquinas is not spared, with these words : ' There is no end of examining in what manner we ought to speak of Christ, as if we had to do with a fantastical dæmon, who could not be raised up without some danger, if any words of the set form were omitted ; whereas we have to do with a most gracious Saviour, who requires nothing from us, but a pure and upright heart.' These last words, says our author, discover the great principle of the Latitudinarians.

Erasmus unfolds that principle in a letter to John Slechtsa, ' The right way of reuniting people to the church of Rome,' says our Latitudinarian doctor, ' would be to make no other articles of faith, but such as contain truths plainly expressed in the scripture. Few would be sufficient.' ' The christian theology,' continues he, ' may be reduced to this.

1. That we ought to repose our confidence in God, who freely gives us every thing through his Son Jesus Christ.
2. That his Son has redeemed us by his death.
3. That baptism unites us to him, that we may follow his example, hurt no man, but do good to every body.
4. That if we happen to be in adversity, we ought to bear it in hopes of a future reward, which all pious men shall receive when Christ comes.'

Erasmus adds, ' That if some men have a mind to make more abstruse inquiries about the divine nature, the person of Christ, or the sacraments, they may do it.' Here is, says our author, a confession of faith, which might indeed reunite all Christians : the Socinians would not refuse to subscribe to it : but how shall we call the man, who proposes such an expedient ?

Erasmus exclaims against Luther and the Lutherans, when he writes to the Catholics ; and at the same time he writes in confidence to one of his friends, speaking of the bull published by Leo X. ' I am sorry the evangelical doctrine should be thus oppressed ; that we should be tyrannized instead of being instructed ; and that we should be taught nothing but what is contrary to the holy scripture and common sense.' I desire Mr. Marsollier, says our author, to tell me whether this be the language of a man who submits to the church. Erasmus plainly says in another letter, ' That he will not determine whether Luther, already condemned, is out of the church. If the church comes to waver on both



sides,' says he, 'I shall keep close to the solid stone, till the storm be over, and we may know where the church is: Erasmus will always be where the evangelical peace is to be found.'

'Let others,' says he, 'affect the glory of martyrdom: as for me, I don't think myself worthy of that honour.' In another letter he says; 'The Germans had a mind to engage me in Luther's quarrel.—What good could I have done him? Two men would have perished instead of one. Suppose he had writ nothing, but what is agreeable to piety, it was never my design to maintain truth at the danger of my life. I follow the emperor's and the pope's decrees, when they judge right; which is piously done: I bear with them, when they judge wrong; wherein I consult my own safety. I think good men may be allowed to do so, when they cannot do otherwise.'

Again, in another letter of Erasmus these words are to be found: 'Some say slanderously that I keep a medium: I confess it is a very impious thing to keep a medium between Christ and Belial; but I think it prudential to keep a medium between Scylla and Charybdis.' From these passages the author infers that Erasmus was a very great Latitudinarian.

If it be asked, continues the author, whether those kings and princes, who commended him, were afraid of him? I answer, They were afraid of him so far as to think it necessary to have a regard for him. But how could Charles V be afraid of a doctor? Had he not good reason to fear that Erasmus would occasion as many disturbances as Luther? The reputation of the former was as great as that of the latter; and if Luther shook the empire, Erasmus siding with him would have overthrown it. As for the popes, it can be no wonder that they should have endeavoured to keep in by their praises a man, who might have done a great deal of mischief.

Erasmus would never trust the popes: he always promises to go to Rome, but he never goes: he is no less careful about the latter end of his life to avoid all the places wherein the Catholic religion prevails: he refuses a benefice in his own country, whither the queen of Hungary, governess of the Low Countries, invited him in the most press-

ing manner: he was sensible he had so ill acted the part of a Catholic, that nobody could be mistaken about it.

The author adds, that the popes did at last condemn most of his books; that they are full of errors; that he affects every where to weaken the proofs of Christ's divinity; that he never converted any heretic; that his disciples and servants forsook the church of Rome; that he does not express in his letters any great zeal for the conversion of his friends; that he exhorts them only to moderation and toleration; that his continual declamations and sharp satires against the abuses of the church were not very proper to convert any heretic; that he hath poisoned the works of the Fathers with his bold remarks and satirical prefaces against those holy men; that St. Austin and St. Hilary have been horribly used by him; that he has perverted the sense of scripture by his rash explications, weakened tradition by his extravagant criticisms, betrayed the faith by his cautious and prudent behaviour; and that he had not a true sense of piety. Can an apostate, an excommunicated person, a slanderer, who spared nobody, a buffoon, the author of the Colloquies, that impious satire, which in the judgment of the gravest defenders of the faith has done more harm to the church than the passionate writings of Luther; can such a man have a true sense of piety? The author adds that there is no unction in the devotional books of Erasmus; and that he talks rather like a philosopher than like a christian, or a man of God.

This is the substance of the late dispute concerning the illustrious Erasmus. I leave it to the readers to make their observations upon it.' La Roche, *Memoirs of Literature*, vol. viii. art. xxiv. p. 207.

This anonymous author concludes his dissertation against Erasmus and Marsollier in the following manner;

'It is to be hoped that M. Marsollier will be ashamed to tread in the steps of a Jansenist: for the first apologist of Erasmus was one of these innovators. I know not why they should be so fond of Erasmus, whose best performance is his treatise on Free-will, a book which surely cannot please them.'

By this Jansenist, he means, I suppose, Mr. Richard.

## ANONYMOUS,

*Reponse à la Refutation de l'Apologie d'Erasmus.* In the *Memoires Litteraires*, t. i. p. 355, A, 1716.

This answerer makes free with the refuter, and treats him as he deserves, and defends Erasmus against his censurers. Burigni says that this author is doctor Courayer. T. ii. p. 472.

## ANONYMOUS.

*Critique de l'Apologie d'Erasmus de Mr. l'Abbé Marsollier.* Par \*\*\*\* Paris, 1719.

This anonymous critic, who writes with liveliness and elegance enough, is exactly in the same sentiments with the journalists of Trevoux. He censures Richard and Marsollier, and all those who judged favourably of Erasmus.

He undertakes to show that Erasmus stands condemned by the most learned and skilful divines, that he apostatized from monkery, that he was a corrupter of christians by his licentious writings, that he was the introducer of the Lutheran heresy, and that he favoured Arianism.

Amongst the *learned* adversaries of Erasmus he enumerates Lee, Standish, Dorpius, Latomus, Titelman, the Sorbonne, Clichtovæus, the Spanish divines, Stunica, Albertus Pius, the doctors of Louvain, the Council of Trent, Hosius, Soto, Medina, Catharinus, Salmero, Andrada, Canisius, Bellarmin, Stapleton, Ignatius Loyola, Gretzer, Spondanus, Raynaldus, the Benedictins, &c. But of these *great* men, some were *little* men, some were mere scholastic divines, who understood nothing of classical and critical erudition, of ecclesiastical antiquities, and of the holy scriptures; and some were violent party men, and attached to the court of Rome, either by injudicious zeal, or from political principles.

However, certain it is that no man, who thinks the church of Rome to be in a state of perfection, and to want no reformation, can love the writings or the memory of Erasmus; and so far our Anonymous is in the right.

The charge of apostasy, which he fixes upon Erasmus, is founded upon a supposition that it is unlawful for a monk

to quit the frock. But Erasmus would have told him this was begging the question.

Erasmus, says he, in his early youth became a monk. At first he was well pleased with his condition, for he wrote a book *De Contemptu Mundi*, which is a panegyric of the monastic life, and is addressed to one Jodocus, whom he wanted to invite to his monastery.

But Erasmus informs us, that this work was a very trifle, written by him when he was under age, and a mere boy; and written to humour some people who set him about it.

In those days, says our author, he applied himself to painting, for amusement; and in the cabinet of Cornelius Musius of Delft there is a crucifix with an inscription which shows it to have been the work of Erasmus.

He indeed obtained leave from Leo X to quit his order; but, says our censor, it was by a false representation of facts, and so the guilt lies on his own head. Being thus set free, he began his rambles, and no deserter from the monks ever wrote so much or travelled so much as he.

This author undertakes to show against Marsollier, that the Protestants never claimed Erasmus: and indeed the Protestants have generally accounted him a man who saw the truths which he had not the courage to maintain, and who, endeavouring to steer \* between two violent and contending parties, was thoroughly liked by neither.

He hath also sufficiently proved that Erasmus was the forerunner of Luther.

He charges him with standing neuter in the affair of the divorce of Henry VIII, whilst the pious and intrepid monks declared themselves for the good cause, and suffered unexampled torments for it, so that their blood was shed like water throughout the king's dominions. For the truth of this he is not ashamed to cite Sanders, of all historians the greatest liar; and he forgets, or will not remember, what a multitude of Catholic divines gave their opinion in favour of that divorce.

His charge upon Erasmus, of Arianism, is grounded

\* In the Pasquilli this motto is given to Erasmus, from Virgil:

*Terras inter cœlumque volabat.*

principally upon some passages of scripture which had been very injudiciously urged against the Arians, and which Erasmus had too much sense and candour to misinterpret.

He observes that the works of Erasmus are without *unction*, and not at all proper to instil piety in young people, and that he hath spoken ludicrously and profanely of several things which are revered by good Catholics.

He says that an air of pride and vanity appears in all his writings; and that he had the arrogance to take for his device, the god *Terminus*, with the legend, *Nulli cedo*.

He is very sure that the court of Rome never intended to make him a cardinal.

Upon the whole, he allows him no good moral quality, and represents him as an ingenious, an industrious, and a bad man.

‘The author of this *Critique de l’Apologie*, &c. was one of the bare-footed Austin friars, called father Gabriel of Toulon. His book is methodically written; but partiality, and a desire of showing that Erasmus deserved condemnation, predominate too openly in this work.

There appeared in the *Journal Litteraire*, a refutation of the attack made, in the *Memoirs of Trevoux*, upon the Apology of Erasmus. The author, who produceth nothing new, calls himself *Cleral*. Two years before the book of father Gabriel of Toulon made its appearance, a very judicious thesis had been maintained at Hamburgh, under the celebrated professor Joan. Albertus Fabricius. It is a book divided into four chapters. In the first are set forth the services which Erasmus did to religion: in the second are mentioned the transactions between him and Luther: in the third and fourth are examined the censures which the enemies of Erasmus have passed upon his doctrine and his works. The author, though a Lutheran, concludes that Erasmus, notwithstanding his disputes with the monks and the divines, was a settled Catholic. It is easy to discover in this little dissertation the style and the moderation of the illustrious author, who presided at the thesis. *Exercitatio Critica de religione Erasmi, quam in auditorio Gymnasii Hamb. ad D. xviii. Martii, Anni 1717. Jubileo secundo Ecclesie divinis auspiciis reformari coeptæ memorabilis, præside Joan. Alberto Fabricio, S. S. Theologiæ D. et Prof. public. defen-*

det publice Joannes Kleteker Hamburgensis.' Burigni, t. ii. p.550.

### KNIGHT.

About twenty years ago <sup>y</sup>, a learned Frenchman, Claude Joly <sup>z</sup>, canon and official of Paris, did take the pains to reduce into annals what he had met with relating to the actions, writings, &c. of Erasmus : but it proved at last an abortive piece.—However, had the aforementioned work been extant, it being writ in French, and having had no particular relation to England, or the friends Erasmus had here, it needed not to have prevented me in this history ; the professed design of which is not only to do justice to Erasmus, but also to very many famous Englishmen his contemporaries ; most of whom have been long buried in obscurity, and have hardly a name in our histories, though this is very much to our shame and scandal. Having then particularly considered all those passages in his writings that refer to England, the state of learning and religion at the time he lived there, and many other incidental matters, which naturally fell in with them both ; I doubt not of the reader's finding an agreeable entertainment in the following work. I am not ashamed to own that many or most of my materials are gathered out of Erasmus's own works ; yet till I had ranged them under proper heads, and reduced them to some order, they were of little service to my present undertaking.

Many things in this essay will be also found relating to our universities, which having escaped the notice of our antiquaries, must needs be agreeable to the taste of the present age ; wherein there is a commendable emulation to excel in this sort of knowledge, and to cultivate the study of our British antiquities, and particularly what relates to those learned bodies. As each of these in their turns, by their being too fond of assuming the honour of having Erasmus among them, have fallen into some mistakes about the time he sojourned at each university, so I have impartially endeavoured to rectify them, and to fix the exact time of his coming to, abode with, and leaving them ; plainly proving

<sup>y</sup> Knight's Introduction to the Life of Erasmus.

<sup>z</sup> See *Colomesius*, Bibl. Chois. p. 464. Malinchrot promised to write the Life of Erasmus. *Colomes*. B. Ch. p. 457.

that the university of Cambridge had much the advantage in this particular, and that as she had more of his company, so also greater helps from his learning, which was more considerable in his last visits to England than could possibly have been expected in his first. One reason why I could not digest his life into annals, which was my first design, was, because I found it necessary lightly to pass over those years he spent abroad in his own country, France, Italy, Switzerland, &c.; for though we doubt not that every portion of his time was spent very accountably to himself, as well as usefully to the world, yet as he lived to the age of seventy years, should every passage thereof be minutely considered, and the characters of his friends and enemies enlarged upon, the volume would have swoln to an unreasonable bulk.—

But, however, lest the chasm should be too great, and instead of being prolix, I should have been deficient in the series of the history, I have just touched upon the first thirty years of his life, which were spent before he saw England, and the last twenty after he left it, beginning with his birth in 1467, and ending with his death which was in 1536, leaving the enlargement upon those fifty years to learned foreigners.—

But who knows not the difficulty of speaking truth in a popish country? If the Index Expurgatorius has affixed in the front of Erasmus's works, *Author damnatus*, and this harsh note upon the whole, *Opera omnia Erasmi caute legenda, tam multa enim insunt correctione digna ut vix omnia expurgari possint*: what quarter can be expected by any of the Romish communion, if they venture to speak favourably of Erasmus, or his opinions? So that whosoever does this in a popish country must have the spirit of a martyr to bear him out, or he will make no thorough work of it. But as this is not our unhappy case, I have very largely considered his theological conflicts with several of our bigoted countrymen, and it must afford a pleasing spectacle to see how he triumphs over them, and foils them at their own weapons. There is, as dean Colet calls it, *Erasmicum quiddam*, something inimitable in all that he says, and he appears amongst his adversaries *ut luna inter minores ignes*. And I cannot but observe, that though he

appears so superior to his adversaries, and triumphs over them in good sense and argument, yet he entered the lists unwillingly, and not till he was forced to it by their impetuosity, as he says, *non nisi impetitus*; and this after he was fifty years old, till which time he went on sedately in his studies, leaving, wherever he came, choice specimens of his laborious learning: but when once he drew blood in controversy, he had hardly a quiet day afterwards, his enemies charged so thick upon him and persecuted him from city to city. It is indeed to be lamented that so much of his precious time was lost in cleansing the Augean stable of such barbarous and wretched stuff, with which their disputations abounded. No doubt we might have had some other choice lucubrations in philology, besides those which are now extant, had he not been employed in those theological scuffles; but whatever was lost to learning was gained to religion, and we may justly attribute a great share of the Reformation to him. Bishop Stillingfleet in his second conference of the idolatry of the church of Rome says, ‘It was not Luther or Zuinglius that contributed so much to the Reformation as Erasmus, especially amongst us in England. For Erasmus was the man who awakened men’s understandings, and brought them from the friar’s divinity to a relish of general learning. He by his wit laughed down the imperious insolence of the monks, and made them the scorn of Christendom: and by his learning he brought most of the Latin fathers to light, and published them with excellent editions and useful notes; by which means men of parts set themselves to consider the antient church from the writings of the fathers themselves, and not from the canonists and schoolmen. So that the most learned and impartial men were prepared for the doctrines of the Reformation before it broke forth.’

And in another place he says, ‘there was not above one Greek Testament to be found in all Germany, till Erasmus printed it with notes, which infinitely took with all pious and learned men, and as much enraged the monks and friars, and all the fast friends to their dulness and superstition: and therefore Erasmus is in far greater esteem among the divines of our church, than either Luther or Calvin.’ He adds also, that ‘to prevent the extravagancies of the people



in the interpreting the scripture, his most excellent Paraphrase was set up in churches.

'I could run,' says he, 'through all the errors of the church of Rome which stand confuted by Erasmus, but it shall suffice to mention one or two of them. Erasmus expressly says that the gift of miracles, which was necessary to the first ages of the church, for the conversion of infidels, as speaking with strange tongues, miraculous cures, prophesying, &c. is now ceased.'

Erasmus declared fully that, when Luther began to write, there was occasion and just cause of reformation.

In many places he gives honourable testimony to Luther, and would, no doubt, have been his second in all that noble conflict, had he been endued with the same courage and resolution: but it is plain that he did not love suffering; his delight was in a studious ease and safety. Some have objected against Luther, that he was an enterprising man, of a forward, bold, and, what they called, a turbulent temper. It is happy he was so; for without a warmth of zeal, a presence of mind and an intrepid courage, pursuing truth, with invincible attachment to it, he could never have persisted in that immense difficulty of beginning the Reformation in Germany. We have had the same objection made in England, that Henry VIII was a blustering prince, haughty and resolute, and affecting his own will and pleasure. It is enough to say that a milder prince could not have done much in so rugged a work.——

It required infinite courage, and a body and mind prepared for martyrdom, to oppose the Roman church and clergy. When once a man was suspected for an heretic, he could write or speak nothing but what was immediately turned to an heretical meaning. Erasmus plainly enough confessed, that though in many opinions he was a friend to Luther, yet he did not care to be a martyr for him.

I am sorry I am forced to go a little out of my way, and make a short break in the series of the history, in order to vindicate Erasmus from the aspersions cast upon him by a late writer<sup>a</sup>, in his Life of Cardinal Wolsey, wherein he would insinuate that Erasmus was of so mercenary a tem-

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Eddes.

per, that after he had served his ends of the cardinal, and had nothing either to hope or fear from him, he gave his pen a loose against him. I am willing to hope that what I have to advance upon this head may abundantly convince any one who considers it, that such a reflection bears too hard upon the memory of this great man, and that the cardinal did not only by his general character, but also by his harsh usage of particular persons, especially some who were very dear to Erasmus, (to say nothing of the treatment he had from him himself, and neglect, as well as oppression, will sometimes make a wise man mad), force him to turn his pen very differently; nor can we, if we consider the circumstances, wonder at his launching out somewhat too smartly: but as the author of the book I hint at is lately dead, I shall forbear saying so much as I designed upon this head, and the known motives which engaged him to advance so many paradoxes as abound in his work. I shall only remark here, that not only Erasmus, who had by his writings much favoured the Reformation, and probably was upon that very account struck at by this writer, but even the Reformation itself escapes not without a good deal of censure and reflection from him; and to give it the more home strokes, he goes to the very root of it, and does all he can to evince the unjustifiable grounds it proceeded upon, ridicules the instruments of it, and would insinuate that there was a change made for the worse; and therefore palliates some of the most absurd doctrines of the church of Rome, which were happily thrown off at the Reformation.

It must be owned indeed that Erasmus has said as keen things against the Romanists as ever any writer before or since; and the observation is true that he hurt as much *riendo* as Luther *stomachando*: yet his courage failed him, and he went not through with what he was most fit for, the reformation of the church; but, as is before hinted, paved the way to it,—and though he had not so much courage, he had abundantly more learning than Luther.—

In his Epistles now extant, (which though very numerous yet are vastly short of what he wrote), as well as in his other writings, there is easily discoverable not only a hearty zeal towards the advancement of learning, and restoring it from that deplorable state into which it had been long sunk; but

also very great efforts towards giving the world a true taste of the rational and genuine use of religion, which was then, and had been long before, sunk into the very dregs of error, superstition, and bigotry. In them he warns Christians against an implicit obedience, as well as a formal religion; presses them by the most cogent reasons to the exercise of those duties which the Gospel requires, and distinguishes between these and the corrupt usages and doctrines of the Church, which had too much eaten into the very vitals of religion, and would, if continued longer, have destroyed all morality, as well as the improvement of it by Christianity. Hence he speaks in great contempt of resting in a bead-roll of prayers in an unknown tongue, and of tedious and ridiculous pilgrimages.—

It is true, indeed; he continued within the pale of the Romish church, yet at the same time he sapped the very foundation of it by the bold advances he made towards a reformation. But, such is the weakness of human nature, he could not overcome his fears of the alteration and confusion of affairs that might ensue, which, as he apprehended, would render impracticable what he earnestly wished for, a thorough reformation. And he did the more dread this, from the frantic scene which about this time was opened by the Anabaptists in Germany, which had like to have given him almost a fatal prejudice to the Reformation then ensuing. But yet Erasmus proved wise enough to distinguish between zeal and madness, though others of weaker capacities and stronger prejudices could not.—

No one insists more clearly on the true genius of Christianity than himself, or launches out with more warmth against that which is the very bane of religion; I mean the *opus operatum*, as the schools speak, or resting in the outward forms of religion, which may be of ill consequence to the reformed, as it has been to the church of Rome.—

His *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* is of all his books more especially levelled against this form of godliness, when without the power and practice of it. Therefore the Dominican friars being stung by his plain dealing, especially in the preface to that book, made such a noise and clamour against it, that Erasmus never regained their favour; taking what he wrote so much the more heinously, since he was one of

them, and consequently had disgraced his own order <sup>b</sup>. We are told by a credible author, Montfaucon, *Diar. Ital.* that in the library of the Dominicans of St. John and St. Paul at Venice, there are two rows of wooden statues, one of the Catholic, and the other of heretical doctors. Among the latter stands Erasmus loaded with chains, with labels full of reproaches against him, as also against Luther and Calvin: but those who were more moderate, were content to picture him as hanging between heaven and hell.

His *Moriæ Encomium*, to say nothing of his *Colloquies*, has also very sharp invectives against the *Religious* of that age, as they called themselves, when nothing was more notorious than their irreligion and ignorance; and yet they were taught to rail against Erasmus, though few of them had Latin enough to read his books; but this they were sure of, that he was an heretic, though his style, it seems, was so deep, that they were not able to conquer it. And indeed they made this very plain, when they were all in an uproar for his confining theology to Germany, (than which they thought no place was more heretical), because he had a passage in his *Enchiridion*, in which he praised *germanam apostolorum theologiam*, which they took in this absurd sense. And no less crime was it to alter in the Lord's Prayer *debita* into *peccata*.——

A noble vein of freedom runs through all his volumes, unless some few passages may be thought otherwise, which were written on a surprise, or for fear of the indignation of his superiors, having always enemies ready to take advantage against him. But, however, it will appear all along very plain, that though he unwillingly entered the lists with Luther, yet in his after writings <sup>c</sup> he made him ample amends, and more especially in his *Epistles*, which are wrote in a free and easy way to his most familiar friends, in which we find very bold strokes in behalf of the Reformation; which as they must afford an agreeable entertainment to every reader, so much more to ourselves, since chiefly to our countrymen. More, Warham, Fisher, Colet, &c. he opened his very

<sup>b</sup> Erasmus was not a Dominican, but an Augustinian. See *Life of Erasm.* vol. i. p. 55.

<sup>c</sup> In this, Knight is mistaken.

soul, and speaks without the least reserve. England<sup>d</sup> was his admired place; and had he not had some potent enemies here, as well as many hearty friends, we had enjoyed him as many years as we did months. But the time he stayed was spent so much to the advantage both of religion and learning, that we should be ungrateful not to own even at this distance of time what we gained by him. And although we lost him too soon from England, yet did he not forget our countrymen, after he was removed into foreign parts, but sent over many of his books, and inscribed them to his learned friends here, as a testimony of his love and affection for them.

Since then the labours of this eminent man, by the many dedications that he made to our countrymen, seem to be calculated to the taste as well as the improvement of this our climate, where he found the greatest number of patrons; I hope it will not be unacceptable to the curious reader to present them in one view, and in a proper order. This will make it evident that he met with the greatest encouragement from England, and that most of his first and best productions were in a great measure owing to the suggestion and advice of some of the most considerable persons in this kingdom, &c.—These were his patrons; and how they became such the history will inform us, and give a short account of them, and several others of our own countrymen, who were also equally valued by him.

Having thus run over what was most material towards preparing the way to his life, I shall only add now a character of him and his writings; and, that I may not appear partial, in the words of another person.

‘He was the most facetious man of his age, and the most judicious critic; which are two talents that as seldom meet together in the same person, as pedantry and good manners. He carried on a reformation in learning at the same time as

<sup>d</sup> ‘The first Dreyden, who settled in Northamptonshire, was a school-master; and being learned and well acquainted with Erasmus, that person was god-father to one of his sons; which is the reason that that christian-name descends among the family of the Dreydens in that county; some of whom have gloried in it in my hearing.’ Wood, *Fast. Ox.* vol. i. c. 115.

he advanced that of religion; and promoted a purity and simplicity of style, as well as of worship.

‘This drew upon him the hatred of the ecclesiastics, who were no less bigoted to their barbarisms in language and philosophy, than they were to their unjust innovations in the church. They murdered him over and over in their dull treatises, libelled him in their wretched sermons, and, what was the last and highest effort of their malice, practised a piece of Mezentius’s cruelty upon him, and joined some of their own dead execrable stuff to his compositions. Of which barbarous usage he himself complains in an epistle addressed to the divines of Louvain. He exposed with great freedom the vices and corruptions of his own church, yet, for all that, could never be induced to leave the communion in which he was bred; which may be imputed to his great candour and moderation, or else to the ill management and furious proceedings of the first reformers in Germany, which cannot be defended. Thus, by the common fate of all peace-makers, while he honestly and charitably intended to do all good offices to both parties, he was most undeservedly worried and persecuted by both. Perhaps no man hath obliged the public with a greater number of useful volumes than our author: every thing that comes from him instructs and pleases, and may as easily be known by the masterly strokes, as his friend Hans Holbein’s pieces by the boldness of the paint, and the freshness of the colours. However, he was supposed to be the author of several books he never wrote; which hath been the case of an hundred writers, both before and after him, as the *Captivitas Babylonica*, *Eubulus*, *Lamentationes Petri*, a satire of Huttenus called *Nemo*, *Febris*, *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*.’

This last book, from one circumstance mentioned by Mons. Bayle, could not be his, since, upon his reading of it, he was put into so violent a fit of laughter, that it broke an imposthume in his face.

Erasmus took as much care as was possible to leave his works in such hands as he thought could not fail of keeping them entire, and not suffer him to be abused after he was dead. This he conjures his friends to do with the greatest earnestness imaginable. ‘*Nqn onerabo. (vos). psalteriis et*

anniversariis; sed obnixè rogo, ut inter vos partiti operas, omnes lucubrationes meas evolvatis, et in ordinem digestas et emendatas committatis Frobenio excudendas.' —

THERE<sup>c</sup> have been some few wrecks of this great man, which are past recovery, *viz.* Two books of *Antibarbari* lost by Pace: many of his elaborate declamations were also stolen from him at Rome. Two books *De Eucharistia*, which he finished, but suppressed. He left imperfect at his death a *Commentary* upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, probably the same he prepared at the desire of dean Colet for his church of St. Paul's. He wrote several other treatises, which, as the learned bishop Bedel of Kilmore remarks, are since crept into other men's works, who have plumed themselves with his feathers. By his lordship's way of speaking, one might imagine that he had discovered some of these plagiarists; which sure could be no hard matter to do, if they had not too much disguised his inimitable writings, with mixtures of their own wretched stuff. It is certainly much more easy to challenge an author by his books than by his speech: and yet we find that 'a countryman<sup>f</sup> of ours, falling into discourse with Erasmus at his coming to England, though he had never seen him before, after a few repartees passed between them, and who little thought then to embrace him, called him by his name, and discovered him by his way and manner of speaking to be Erasmus.'

Dr. Thomas Fuller, in his *Abel Redivivus*, p: 80, says (but I think without any grounds) that besides his works already published, there are these several tracts following in the University library at Oxford.

*De novo Evangelio; novisque Evangelistis Judicium.*

*Auris Batava.*

*Vita Coleti.*

*Duo Diplomata Papæ Adriani, cum Responsionibus.*

*Detestatio Belli.*

*Precatio ad Jesum, cum aliis Ejaculationibus.*

*De Hollandis.* —

<sup>c</sup> Knight's *Life of Erasm.* p. 353, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Bishop Patrick's *Witnesses to Christianity*, p. i. p. 52.

Patrick, I suppose, had in view the story of the first conversation between More and Erasmus. See *Life of Erasm.* p. 163.

In the beginning of the reign of Edward VI, one Edmund Beck, who had been ordained deacon by bishop Ridley, published two dialogues in English from the Latin of Erasmus, one called Cyclops, or The Gospeller; the other, Of disposing of Things and Names, printed at Canterbury by John Michell. His *Bellum* was translated into English, and printed by Berthelet, 1534.—

Amongst those who wrote funeral elegies on his death, was John Helyar, an Englishman, an intimate friend of his, who, as Wood says, was held in admiration by all the virtuosi—and N. Clenard of Portugal.—

Thus have we finished the life of this most famous and extraordinary person, who was, as one styles him, the envy of his own, and the wonder of all succeeding ages. His natural endowments were very uncommon; which being joined to an amazing industry and application, carried him through untrodden paths, and caused him to surmount all the difficulties that lay in his way, not only from the want of books, but of a preceptor also to instruct him: it being certain that, bating a little knowledge that he got at school, he owed almost all his learning to himself in both the Latin and Greek languages. He went indeed into Italy, the then grand mart of polite learning; yet his journey thither was more out of curiosity<sup>s</sup> than for any other reason, being before that tour well versed in the study of the Greek tongue, having made a considerable progress in it, first at Oxford, and then at Paris: in which last place though he lived at several times, yet it appears he had no great love for it, nor indeed for any part of France, where he did not meet with the encouragement he deserved. Which however shows he had a most surprising genius, which did surmount all the difficulties which lay in his way to learning, and made him despise all the discouragements which he met with from almost every one about him, there being nothing to spur him on either of honour or profit: yet following the strong *impetus* that he had towards letters, he did, maugre all that opposed his progress, arrive to be the most considerable man in Europe; and I may be bold to say, considering the difference of times and advantages, he has not been equalled since.

<sup>s</sup> Beat. Rhenanus, *Epist. præfix. Origenis operibus.*



His memory was so very good, that he remembered all that he read, and could readily turn to any book or passage which he had occasion for. This he chose rather to do, than to burden his memory with the rubbish of many of the books of his time; which yet as a writer, especially as a confuter of them, he had occasion for. His having so very happy a memory, might occasion his censure of the way of the English preachers, even in his time, of reading their notes, hinting as if practised no where else. I have already observed that he had both Horace and Terence by heart. I may now farther add, that though it is a common thing for those who have been great writers, so to spin out their materials that the reader rather loses his time than gains knowledge, the farther he proceeds in their books; Erasmus, on the contrary, dispatches his argument with conciseness as well as clearness, and mixes the *utile dulci* so admirably together, that he captivates the mind and informs the understanding at the same time. We do not find that he ever so forgets himself, as to insert in one book what he had before writ in another, a fault some voluminous writers are subject to; but he that remembered all the writings of others could not forget his own.

But yet so modest was he, and had so indifferent an opinion of his own deserts, that he hoped future times would make allowance for any imperfection that might be found in his writings, and consider how little his encouragement, or rather how great his discouragements were: but this at least he would have them know, that it was the chief pleasure of his life to see the flourishing state of learning before he died.

It must be owned he brought about the great change that was made in the state of learning; one of his contemporaries<sup>h</sup> speaking of him, says, the world had by him recovered the devastations that were made by the Goths and Vandals at their irruption into Italy, when they had destroyed all the famous libraries there. To which great character we may add, that he went through with every thing he undertook, leaving nothing imperfect at the time of his death, but his Comment on the Epistle to the Ro-

<sup>h</sup> Andr. Barlandus.

mans. And what must increase our wonder is, that all these mighty things were done under great infirmities of body, as well as in an unsettled way of life, being continually moving from place to place, which as it occasioned loss of time, so, no doubt, subjected him to many other inconveniences, to say nothing of the continual avocations he met with from his beloved studies, by the answering of those many dull and worthless invectives of his opposers, who were daily pelting him with their most frivolous answers to what was really unanswerable, especially in what related to Luther and the Reformation; for, as he could not go all the lengths that either side would have him, he could please neither, but armed both the one and the other against him: and yet there appears no chasm in his life, nor could he be discouraged from proceeding in his noble designs of promoting the public good, and the interest of both sound learning and true religion: and if in any thing he failed, allowance ought to be made for the difficulty of the time he lived in.

He owns that he was not pleased with his own compositions, and that, writing a great pace and in an extemporary way, many things might escape him which would offend a more curious eye; but he could not away with too long poring upon his own writings, of which though he himself had a very mean, yet the world has always had a great opinion.

I have, through the whole foregoing history, showed how much we in England were beholden to him for his laying the foundation of polite learning amongst us: yet it must not be dissembled that, although he had very great friends and patrons while he sojourned here, he did not meet with all that encouragement he deserved, or indeed was promised him upon his foregoing other places, where he had greater and more encouraging offers.

His frequent visits, however, showed his strong inclination to settle in England; but the death of some, and the falseness of other friends, made him at last weary of us, and he complains of this his treatment, though in very soft terms<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Jam apud Britannos tametsi fortuna contigit non usquequam pœnitenda, certe meis aliquanto major meritis: tamen, ut verum fatear, non omnino respondet nec votis nostris, nec amicorum pollicitis.

But however sparing of their favours some of his patrons were, we find he was not so of his pains when here, but also in every place where he resided; always opening his treasures of learning, and communicating every thing he knew to the inquisitive, being as ready to impart that knowledge he had acquired with the greatest labour, as they to receive it: being quite of a different temper from some otherwise great men, who think much to part with what they know to others; and grudge to divulge their mysteries, as they call them, to the vulgar.

We may see by the Epistle Dedicatory of B. Rhenanus, how much this narrow and stingy spirit had prevailed in the world; and that in Italy especially great pains were taken to bar up the knowledge of the tongues, which they had imported from Greece, from the rest of Europe, that so they might find their advantage in the continually flocking thither of strangers from all parts. But Erasmus soon spoilt their trade; for in a very few years polite learning had made its way into every corner of Europe; so that what a learned man, his contemporary, says relating to the great service he did in Germany, is equally true as to other places which he favoured any time with his company. He found means to polish the Barbarians (for so the Italians called all but themselves), and raised a spirit of industry amongst them, that they had soon no pretence of travelling abroad in quest of learning, since he brought it home to their own doors. He was willing for the public good to descend from the pompous part of learning, and took as much delight and satisfaction in publishing his little *Cato*, as in any of his more learned works. Hence from the same principle he was pleased to hear of any rising genius, though possibly his own fame might in time be obscured by them, it being his most passionate wish, that the world might grow and increase in the knowledge of polite learning, hating nothing more than the monopolizing that which ought to be common; or the thought of Wisdom's dying with him; and to be accounted, in this sense, the *Phoenix* of the age he lived in.

When the unhappy difference began between Erasmus and Budæus, which was justly looked upon as a struggle between them for a primacy in learning, when the conten-

tion was most sharp and fierce, in the judgment of all impartial persons, Erasmus (to say nothing how much he excelled him as to learning) got much the better of him by his good temper and pacific moderation. This is plainly seen in the kind return he made him to a very angry and waspish letter of Budæus, which only served to show his pride and ill-nature.—

He was a very candid judge of other men's learning; no person did more towards the propagating of knowledge, in all places where he came; and none ever suffered more than he by the enemies of it.

He was a despiser of the wealth and honours of the world—one of great sincerity and openness, which probably made him not much in love with princes' courts. Yet once we find that he was much pleased with our English court.—

It cannot be much wondered at that he should never rise to any considerable dignity. He himself acquaints us that his passionate love for liberty, and avoidance of every thing that brought any care or trouble with it, was the real occasion that he never was or would be advanced by his great friends.

—In one place he seems to repent his obstinate refusal of preferments and dignities, since they would have prevented some inconveniencies he found did afterwards attend the want of them.—

#### LE CLERC.

‘ There are, I know, certain persons, who speak with a sort of contempt of Erasmus, and yet are infinitely inferior to him in all respects. He did not spend his days in grammatical trifles, like these censurers; and he sometimes fell into some grammatical and critical mistakes, either because it is next to impossible to avoid them, or because he wanted proper assistances. On this account, minute grammarians, whose labours equal not the hundredth part of his, and who have done nothing in the philological way that can stand in competition with his Adages, rail at him, and say that there was no occasion to reprint his works. If they were to be consulted, no books deserve that honour, except those of their own trade, consisting of very tiresome and not very useful criticisms. Others of a higher order

approve not his theological sentiments, and could wish that they were buried in oblivion, and that in their stead those writings should rather be republished, which contain the disputes of certain divines of quarrelsome memory.

If I be asked, whether I approve all that Erasmus hath published, I say, no: and yet this I say, that he was not only one of the best grammarians and critics of his time, but that no one contributed more than he to the revival of the *belles lettres*, or hath better showed their true and proper use: for he employed them, not only to explain a few profane authors, but Christian antiquities, the New Testament, and the works of the fathers, which at that time were not understood, and of which there were no good editions, before those which he gave to the public. I will add, that he was one of the first who perceived that many errors and disorders had entered into Christianity, and who endeavoured to apply a remedy to these evils, by opening the way to an acquaintance with originals, and by sometimes ridiculing and sometimes seriously opposing the propagators and defenders of these false opinions and pernicious practices. Doubtless he greatly contributed to dispel the darkness of that age, and to prepare the world for the reception of a brighter light, of which he only saw the dawning. This change was not introduced without furious commotions, which seemed to threaten no less than universal confusion and ruin: and he was so terrified at it, that towards the latter part of his life he equally condemned all the contending parties. He had flattered himself with pleasing hopes that the rulers in church and state, being modestly and mildly admonished of the errors and disorders which by degrees had over-run Christianity, would of their own accord apply suitable remedies, and that there would be no occasion for tumultuous proceedings, and an open rupture. In this he was quite mistaken, as the event showed. These men were not at all disposed to listen to such civil remonstrances, and Erasmus judged too favourably of them, because he knew that they were obliged to listen to them by all the sacred ties of duty to God and man. But if they who should have reformed these abuses, and had the power to do it, had not the will to act accordingly, then Erasmus

thought that Christians must bear it with patience, and wait for better days and more favourable opportunities. Others, on the other hand, were fully persuaded that these better days would never present themselves, days when the ecclesiastical powers would make a voluntary sacrifice of their temporal interests to truth and piety: that therefore at all adventures the yoke was to be shaken off, which they had laid upon the necks of Christians, by mere trick and surprise, in times of gross ignorance and barbarity, that they themselves might enjoy the pomp and pleasures of this life, without paying the least regard to Christianity. The sentiment of these reformers was the more reasonable and courageous, but it was also infinitely more perilous; and all men cannot look danger in the face with the same intrepidity.

The disposition of Erasmus, with relation to this grand affair, will best be seen in our account of his life, extracted from his letters, which in the edition of Leyden are ranged, as nearly as possible, in the order of time. It was a singular pleasure to me, whilst I perused them in this manner, to observe the conduct and the sentiments of this great man in different times and places. I plainly discerned that the desire of advancing the progress of literature, and that of disengaging the minds of men from innumerable superstitions which possessed them, were his two predominant passions all the days of his life; and doubtless he contributed greatly to the one and to the other. Whether he reasons with earnest seriousness, or whether he employs irony and raillery, he is equally entertaining, and he pursues his favourite schemes by different ways. On this account, the age in which he flourished was infinitely obliged to him, and he well deserves to have his failings candidly treated and forgiven. But it is better to enter into a detail of these things, and, as much as we can, to introduce Erasmus speaking for himself, than to deal in these general reflections.' *Bibl. Chois.* v. 145.

'The works of Erasmus had been so scarce for a considerable time, as to be found only in the best libraries, when the bookseller who hath undertaken to publish them, came to me, to consult me upon the occasion. I did not

fail to commend and to encourage his project, and I promised him to add some remarks, and to do all that should lie in my power to make his edition acceptable to the public. Some years passed before I could accomplish what I intended, either because I was occupied in other works, or because we waited for some assistances which had been promised to the bookseller. But at last we have given three volumes of this great work, which will be soon followed by the rest, some of which are in the press.

It seems not necessary that I should here make a panegyric of Erasmus and of his writings. I have done it in a general Preface prefixed to the first tome. If he had in his days innumerable adversaries, catholics and protestants, either on account of the envy which inseparably accompanies virtue and erudition, or of the religious controversies, together with the terrible commotions, persecutions and bloody wars which raged almost all over Europe, we may say, that, since his death, all reasonable and judicious men, of both communions, have equally commended him, and esteem him still at present more than ever. His erudition, which excited the envy and the hatred of all the enemies of the sciences, his moderation in controversy, his liberty in reproving whatsoever he thought should be reformed, his agreeable and facetious manner of proposing his thoughts, are at this day the admiration of all Europe; and there is no nation which doth not envy Holland the honour of having produced him, and applaud Rotterdam for erecting a statue to his memory. The reader will see in the Preface, which is not a long one, what may be said to his advantage, without offending the delicacy of either of the two parties into which Christianity is split. Instead of making any extracts from it, I shall say something of the three first Tomes, to inform those who have not seen them, and to show them that they cannot lay out their money upon a better purchase.

Care hath been taken, then, to revise a copy of Froben's edition in 1540, to correct several faults of the press, and of the spelling, and to put those passages in *Italics* which required it; for, according to the custom of those times, all was printed in *Roman*.

Short notes are added, not to explain Erasmus, who is so perspicuous as not to need it; but to point out some passages which were not cited exactly enough, to confirm some of his sentiments, or to point out his mistakes.

A beautiful print of this illustrious man, taken from an original of Holbein, is also inserted, nor is the statue of Rotterdam omitted. Under the picture of Erasmus is an elegant epigram of Francius. The bookseller hath caused to be added a collection of eloges of Erasmus, made not only by princes, and by eminent men, who were his contemporaries, but by several others whose names are little known, and upon whose compliments Erasmus perhaps would not have set much value. But, however, being short, they will not exercise the patience of the reader.

Then follows the dedication of *Beatus Rhenanus* to Charles V, which is in the edition of Basil, and which contains the Life of Erasmus. But this account of him not being complete enough, some pieces are added of Paul Merula, and of Petrus Scriverius on the same subject, as also the History of his works, which he published himself, and which he addressed to John Botzem of Constance, and to Hector Bœotius, or Boëthius, of Scotland. Here are also some more epitaphs and eloges, which had been separately printed, and never before adjoined to his works. They therefore who like to read the praises bestowed upon this great man, will find an ample collection of them, in prose and verse.

WHEN we have passed through this *Porch*, as we may call it, adorned with monuments and inscriptions in honour to the Author, we come to Erasmus himself, that is to the first tome of his works, containing 1. His book *De Copia Verborum et Rerum*, or the manner of diversifying the same subject. 2. The Greek Grammar of Theodorus Gaza, translated into Latin. 3. The book of Lily, master of St. Paul's School, on the construction of the Parts of Speech, corrected by Erasmus, at the request of Colet, dean of St. Paul's. 4. Several dialogues and tracts of Lucian translated from the Greek. 5. The treatise of Erasmus concerning the manner of writing letters upon all subjects. 6. A discourse on the education of children, from their birth.



7. A book on the method of studying. 8. A declamation in praise of Physic. 9. Three short declamations of Libanius translated into Latin, to which a few notes are added, in this edition, whence it will appear that Erasmus hath mis-translated several passages, although he published this work in 1503, when he was thirty-six years of age. 10. A collection of Similes on various subjects. 11. His Colloquies, to which are added notes selected from those which were in an edition of Leyden (most of which indeed are here omitted, as childish and useless) with a few remarks where it seemed necessary. 12. A dialogue entituled The Combat of Thalia and Barbarity, which had been omitted in most editions, even in that of Basil, 1540; but which Erasmus acknowledged as his own work. After this come the Apologies which he drew up for his Colloquies. 13. A dialogue concerning the true pronunciation of the Latin and Greek languages; with a remarkable passage from J. G. Vossius. 14. The dialogue called *Ciceronianus*, where Erasmus ridicules those who dared not to employ a word or a phrase which was not to be found in Cicero. 15. A small tract of civility of manners in children. 16. A version of three books of Galen, which are an exhortation to the study of literature. 17. An abridgment of the Elegances of Laurentius Valla. 18. A translation in verse of the Hecuba and the Iphigenia of Euripides. 19. Ovid's poem, entituled The Nut-tree, with a large comment of Erasmus. 20. Some poems and epigrams of Erasmus.

Although all these tracts are not equally laboured and useful, yet the spirit of the author appears in them all, who often entertains his reader with lively strokes of wit where one would not expect them.

In his treatise on the manner of writing epistles, after having observed that sciences began to flourish in every place, he adds that he saw the time approaching, when youth would no longer stand in need of his advice and instructions. *Nisi me fallit animi præsagium, brevi veniet ætas, quum nec his monitis erit opus, nec meis præceptionibus juvenus egebit.* He hath been a prophet: but if we have in these days better methods and assistances, and if men have arisen, who surpassed him in the knowledge of

languages and of antiquities, yet very few have equalled his indefatigable industry, his wit, and his sincere and elegant manner of setting forth the truth. If his translations from the Greek are not so accurate as those which have been since made, that is owing to the age in which he lived, when there were no good dictionaries, and no good editions of Greek authors, which will now enable men, inferior to him in all respects, to avoid the faults which he committed. It is surprising, how a man of his genius could submit to the servile drudgery of translating; but he had received from Heaven as much patience and perseverance, as wit and fancy and penetration. If in his immense labours some things are found which may be censured, there is much more which commands our admiration, when we call to mind the times wherein he performed all this, and consider also that he was born and bred in poverty, and never had any public employment, any lucrative benefice, which might have defrayed his necessary expences. He lived, properly speaking, upon the presents which were made to him; and these not being a stated income, he was often reduced to straits. He was also a frequent traveller, and consequently obliged to borrow most of the books which he wanted; except perhaps in the latter part of his life, when he resided in Alsace, or Switzerland, where he kept his library. Notwithstanding all these discouragements and disadvantages, there is no dignitary or beneficed man in his days to be named, who laboured as much as he, and became as serviceable to the public. Thus it is, that they who abound with the conveniences of life, and might employ their mind and their leisure to useful purposes, do little or nothing; and they who are deprived of such helps, perform those works which might justly be expected from the former. This is an evil which hath always been complained of, and which is not about to cease. But they in whose hands is the distribution of preferments will not easily justify their care and caution to bestow them upon drones.

*Bibl. Chois. i. 380.*

‘The second Tome of Erasmus contains his Adages or Proverbs, which have been printed so many times, and which show that the author was a man of prodigious read-

ing: for he who could make such a collection must have perused almost all books of literature. It is true that Erasmus did not publish this work all at once, but augmented it at divers times. To this edition is added a Dedication of the author's, which had been prefixed to the edition of Strasburg in 1517, but had been omitted, we know not why, in the subsequent editions. This Dedication is dated from Paris, and was probably in the <sup>k</sup> first edition of 1500, which came forth in that city. It is addressed to William Montjoy, whose preceptor Erasmus had been; and there is also another Preface to him, and two to his son Charles.

As we give here only the work of Erasmus, we have not joined to it other collections of Proverbs which have been since made, and mixed with his in the German editions, without observing the order in which Erasmus had placed them. But at the bottom of the pages we have put the remarks of Henricus Stephanus, which were printed at the end of his edition of the Adages, and of the editions above mentioned. Stephanus had by no means the genius and the penetration of Erasmus, nor indeed the same extent of reading and of erudition: but then he was a greater master of the Greek language, having applied himself more particularly to it, and being furnished with more assistances. He hath therefore pointed out several faults, which Erasmus, howsoever superior to him in other respects, had committed in translating and explaining Greek authors. We have also selected some corrections of Paulus Leopardus, a very learned <sup>l</sup> critic of the sixteenth century; and we have added a few notes, which have not appeared before, wherein we sometimes cite more exactly, and from better editions, passages of antient writers produced by Erasmus, and either explain some of his proverbs in a different manner, or make references to writers who have so interpreted them.

<sup>k</sup> Concerning this edition see Burigni, tom. ii. p. 357.

<sup>l</sup> See Baillet, ii. 308. Perhaps there never was a critic more generally admired than Leopardus.

Amongst the works of Hadrianus Junius, are, *Adagiorum ab Erasmo omissorum Centurice octo cum dimidio*. See Bayle, Junius, Not. H.

In the first page, for example, we do not agree with Erasmus in his definition of a proverb. *Parœmia est celebre dictum, scita quapiam novitate insigne.* For a proverb is, properly, a short moral sentence, which means something else than what the words seem at first sight to imply: that is to say, it must be expressed in a figurative manner. Herein is a proverb distinguished from a sentence, in general, which may be expressed in simple terms. Such are a multitude of sentences, which are to be found in poets, philosophers, and orators, and which cannot properly be called proverbs, any more than all the sentences of Publius Syrus; these for example:

*Malum constium est, quod mutari non potest. Or,  
Ad pœnitendum properat, cito qui judicat.*

Nor can the Maxims of Rochefoucaut be called proverbs. But these are proverbs,

*Turdus sibi malum cacat;*

of a man who furnishes means to destroy himself.

*Manus manum fricat;*

of two persons who mutually assist each other.

These are figurative expressions, which, by being figurative, are proverbs; for, if they were taken in a proper sense, they would cease to be proverbs.

Besides proverbs, there are proverbial ways of speaking, when a whole sentence is not expressed, but a proverb is obliquely alluded to; as, *Irritare crabrones,* or, *To wake a sleeping cat.* These are proverbial expressions, which contain not a moral sentence, unless you say, *Non sunt irritandi crabrones;* *You must not wake a sleeping cat.*

Erasmus hath mixed all these things together, and collected many simple and direct moral sentences, as though they were proverbs. I confess that the antients have often confounded them together, because of their affinity and resemblance; but these are improprieties, which must not be admitted as principles, when we come to a strict definition of a proverb.' *Bibl. Chois. i. 389.*

The third Tome (in two volumes) of the works of Erasmus contains his letters. To it are added two Appendixes, and a large Index. The first Appendix contains such letters of Erasmus and of his correspondents as we could range according to the order of time, and could not insert amongst the preceding ones, because we had them not soon enough; or because of some fault in the date, so that we could not quite reconcile them with the others. The second Appendix contains letters without a date, ranged according to the alphabetical order of the names of those who wrote them, or of those to whom they were written, excepting the name of Erasmus. Many of these were never published before, and have been extracted from manuscript transcripts, or from the originals of these letters, as we show in the Preface. Mr. de la Faye, who had the care of correcting this Tome, hath disposed these Appendixes in the order above mentioned, after having extracted the additional letters from the manuscripts. He hath also collated the printed letters with such manuscripts as could be found, and with other editions besides that of London: and thereby hath discovered a prodigious number of faults, many of which totally destroyed the sense, and of considerable omissions. As a great part of this Tome was already printed, when some manuscript copies of letters came to hand, there was a necessity to throw into the *Addenda* some things which might have been put into the text, or under it, if they had been found sooner. There are in all more than 325 letters, which had never appeared in any preceding edition of the Epistles of Erasmus. They are marked with a star, and most of them are in the first or in the second Appendix.

The fifth Tome of Erasmus contains principally his treatises of Theology and Devotion, some Prayers, some Poems, and a Commentary on two Hymns of Prudentius. It will not be amiss to give a short account of these tracts, because few persons examine such large volumes, and even some of the learned content themselves with buying them, without knowing exactly the use which may be made of them.

The first piece is the Christian Soldier's Manual; in which there is more piety and good sense than had appeared for many centuries in any treatise of devotion. And it was this very thing that shocked the monks, who knew of no other piety than that which consisted in the observation of some trifling external practices, or at the most in a kind of ecstatic fanaticism, which differs very little from phrensy, and which doth no good, or rather doth much harm, to civil society. The same may be said of his Short Method to acquire true Theology, which doth not in the least resemble the theological systems of those days. For example, the first thing which he lays down is, that he who will be a true divine must bring with him to that study a mind free from irregular passions. And indeed a man may be a good lawyer, a good physician, a good mathematician, without being a good man; but without being or becoming such, never will any one perceive the true end of Christian Theology, and that divine light which hath no fellowship with the darkness of disorderly affections. Erasmus here teacheth the method of studying, and the books which ought to be read, and upon these heads gives advice and directions entirely different from those of the Scholastics. All that is here wanting is a little more method and precision; for his ideas are somewhat confused and general, and not ranged in proper order.

Indeed the arbitrary divisions and subdivisions of the Scholastics are good for nothing, and in their method there is something odd and fantastical, which only serves to obscure the subject. But when the divisions are such as arise from the nature of the thing, and the work, beginning with generals, proceeds gradually to particulars, this method is more advantageous than all the confused rhetoric of antiquity, which Erasmus valued and praised so much.

However, he had great reason to say, in his subsequent exhortation to the study of divinity, that a true divine is not one who proves by syllogisms artfully ranged, but who shows by the disposition of his heart, by his eyes, by his countenance, and by his life, that riches ought to be despised; that a Christian must not place his trust in worldly

succours, but depend upon the assistance of God; that he must not return injury for injury; that he must wish good to those who wish him evil, and serve those who wrong him; equally love and protect all good men, as members of the same body; bear with the wicked, if he cannot reclaim them; that they are not to be lamented, but rather accounted blessed, who are stripped of their goods and fortunes (*i. e.* if they suffer unjustly, and make a right use of their afflictions); that death is a desirable thing for the good, being to them a safe passage to immortality. If a man, penetrated with the spirit of Jesus Christ, teacheth these doctrines, inculcates them, incites and persuades others to observe them, this is a true divine, be he a weaver or a day-labourer; and if he practiseth what he teacheth, he is a great doctor indeed.

Nothing is more true: but yet when art and science accompany piety, and are subservient to it, piety shines forth to still greater advantage.

As Erasmus was accused of teaching that confession ought not to be made to the priest, he wrote his book of Confession, in which he points out many abuses that had crept into that ordinance, and gives excellent advice both to confessors and to those who make their confession.

After this are several discourses on the Psalms, some of which are called *Conciones*, and are a sort of pious declamations, containing many excellent thoughts, though not ranged in the best order. Yet preachers may reap much profit from them; and I cannot conceive why they should choose to read the sermons of Chrysostom or of Augustin, rather than those of Erasmus. The latter seem to be the more useful, as they censure the vices of our own days, and as they are easier to be understood. But there are many who had rather cite great names, than say good things.

I know of no treatises of the antient Christians concerning Marriage and Widowhood, which equal the *Institutio Matrimonii Christiani*, and the *Vidua Christiana* of Erasmus. Scrupulous persons and the directors of consciences will find great assistance from them.

His *Ecclesiastes*, or the Art of Preaching, is a mixture

of theological and rhetorical lessons, in which many incidental questions are discussed. Although this treatise will not form exactly such a preacher as we require in our days, yet it contains a multitude of excellent precepts, which belong to all times and places. In reading his first book, where he treats of the qualities, natural or acquired, which ought to be found in a preacher, there are many who might read their own condemnation; they especially who exercise this religious function, as they would the meanest mechanic trade, with a view to get money, and who have acquired their preferment by dishonourable solicitations and intrigues, and yet have the assurance to talk of the sanctity of their character, and of the respect due to their persons. These men want a new Erasmus, to set their faults before them, and to awaken their consciences, since they will not read Erasmus of Rotterdam.

For the rest, although the matter be solemn and serious, yet the genius of Erasmus, naturally inclined to the ludicrous, often breaks out; as in the following tale, which he hath related concerning the theological comedians, and which is both humourous and instructive.

“THERE was in Italy a preacher, called Robertus Liciensis\*, of whose life I choose to say nothing; I shall only say that, if common report was true, he had excellent talents for the pulpit. At first he had been one of those who call themselves *Observantins*, an honourable title, by which they are distinguished from the other orders of St. Francis. As this order did not suit his humour, he went to one of those called *Conventuals*, whose way of life is not so rigid. Being one day at a repast, where there was an *Observantin* vicar, a man of capacity, piety, and gravity, he made his boast that he could draw tears from his auditors whenever he had a mind. By this speech he pretended to refute what the other had said to him, by way of reproof and reproach, that his sermons produced no good

\* Robert de la Lice (Licius or Liciensis) was a Cordelier, and a famous preacher in the time of Louis XI. Erasmus speaks of him in his *Ecclesiastes*. Ducatiana, i. 75.



effects, because they came not from his heart, and because his life did not correspond with his doctrine. From whom do you draw tears, said he, except from children and silly women? You then, said Liciensisis, who are so great a man, come to-morrow where I am to preach, and be at such a place in the church, where I can observe you, and have a full sight of you; and if I do not make you weep, I will give you a supper; if I do, you shall give one to me and to this company. He did not mention the word *pay*, because those people never touch *money*: but there was in the company a friend to the Franciscans, who offered to be security for the Observantin. On the following day, he went and took the place which was appointed; and then the preacher, after having represented the loving-kindness and the mercy of God, and the ingratitude and stubbornness of those whom nothing can call to repentance, and to mutual love, began, as in the person of God, to address himself to the human heart. O heart! said he, harder than iron, harder than diamonds! for even iron will melt in the fire, and the blood of a goat will dissolve a diamond: but I, do what I can, am not able to draw from thee one single tear. He carried on his apostrophe with such pathetic vehemence, that at last the vicar began to weep. As soon as the preacher saw it, stretching forth his hand towards him, he cried out, I have conquered. The audience supposed that he still spake in the person of God, applauding himself, as it were, for his victory over those who could not refrain from shedding tears. After this, at supper, as the Conventual monk boasted of his success, the Observantin replied smartly enough: It was not your eloquence that drew those tears, but the compassion which I then felt for you, and a concern that one of such happy talents should choose rather to serve the world than Jesus Christ."

It was no bad way of coming off. There are actors of this kind, who seem to be so much affected themselves, that they affect their auditors also: but as soon as they are come down from the pulpit, they have done with religion, and think no more of it.

Let me here add a good saying of a friend of mine, occasioned by this book of Erasmus. He had recommended the perusal of it to a certain preacher, who complained to him afterwards that the reading of it had quite tired him. Ah! said the other, there was something the other day that tired me much more. What? said the preacher. The sermon of a divine, said my friend, who had not observed any one of the precepts of Erasmus.

Many preachers, who have no talent for extemporary prayers, and yet will make very long ones, which they have neither gotten by heart, nor even set down upon paper, would do well to read the following treatise of the manner of praying. If Erasmus there censures some abuses more peculiar to his own times, he gives also directions proper for all times and for all persons.

The Commentary on the Creed, and on the Ten Commandments, is a kind of Confession of Faith, which Erasmus, by the advice of some friends, drew up to oppose the calumnies of those who accused him of a thousand heresies, from which he was absolutely clear, particularly of Arianism.

We will pass over the following small treatises, some prayers to God, and to the Saints, which he composed in his youth, and which stand in need of indulgence and favourable allowances.

His Commentary on two Hymns of Prudentius is rather a religious than a critical comment; and Erasmus made it in favour of Margaret Roper, eldest daughter of Sir T. More.

The sixth Tome is the New Testament, with the version and the notes of Erasmus, which are here disposed in a better manner than in any of the preceding editions; for the notes are under the text, with proper marks of reference, and the numbers of the verses are set down in the margin, both for the Greek and for the Latin; which is far more convenient for the reader. To this volume are prefixed not only the Prefaces, which were in Froben's edition, 1540, but critical remarks of Erasmus upon the Vulgate, upon the solœcisms, obscurities, false readings, additions, and omissions which he had discovered in it. Some of the

censured passages are rather faults of the transcribers than of the translator, and are rectified in revisions of the Vulgate, which have been since made: others relate not so much to the Vulgate, as to those commentators who had misunderstood it. However, this critique of Erasmus gave such offence, that it was omitted in all the editions made since 1522. I have one of this very year, in which it is not to be found. As the reasons which might induce Erasmus to drop it are no longer of any force, it is here restored to its old place. There is also added a Summary of the holy Scriptures, and an Index to the New Testament, which were found in an old edition.

As to the version, and the notes, we have followed the edition of 1540, as the most correct; for it would have been unfair to impute to Erasmus those passages which he himself had corrected. Indeed he made considerable alterations, even after the third edition of 1522, of which some remarkable instances may be seen in the Index to the second edition of the *Ars Critica*, under the word *Erasmus*, where it appears that he corrected in subsequent editions some geographical errors which were in the third. On account of these several alterations, the earlier editions of his New Testament are now hardly to be found.

Yet it would be sometimes useful to have those former editions, to consult, and to verify the citations which have been made from them. For example: Alfonsus Salmero, a famous Jesuit, in the ninth Tome of his works, and the sixteenth Tract, *Of the truth of the body of Jesus Christ*, to prove that Erasmus did not believe Transubstantiation, hath cited these words: *In Synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definit Ecclesia, et re et nomine Veteribus ignotam.* In the margin of the edition of Cologne in 1613, p. 81, there is, *Erasmus in cap. ii. prioris ad Cor.* But Erasmus saith nothing at all about Transubstantiation, upon that chapter; and the six first words of the cited passage are to be found on the seventh chapter of the above-mentioned Epistle. Possibly in the marginal reference there may be a fault of the press: but these words, *et re et nomine Veteribus ignotam*, are not to be found in the edition of 1522, nor in any subsequent edition. I could not find

an older edition to consult : but I greatly suspect that Salmero was deceived by some person ; if he did not himself forge the citation, with a view to make Erasmus odious to those of his communion, and to deter good Catholics from reading him. What confirms me in this opinion is, that they who censured the New Testament of Erasmus, and upbraided him with the faults in his first edition, as Lee, Stunica, Caranza, and others, whom he hath confuted in his ninth Tome, never censured him for this passage. But besides, even supposing that Erasmus had thus spoken in his first or second edition, Salmero, in common justice, ought to have examined whether Erasmus had not altered the place in some of his later editions, before he accused him of rejecting a doctrine which he had professed to believe.

I have made this remark, because an English divine having cited Erasmus, upon the credit of Salmero, imagining that Salmero had dealt faithfully, could not find the passage in Erasmus, and consulted me, to know whether I had ever seen an edition of Erasmus, in which it was said that *Transubstantiation was unknown to the Antients, both the name and the thing*. I have seen no such edition, and I believe that Erasmus never said so.

[I consulted my friend Mr. de Missy, who hath all the editions which Erasmus published of the New Testament, besides many other scarce and valuable books, which could not come into more deserving hands : he gave me the following account.

“ Erasmus, on 1 Cor. vii. 39. on the words : *Liberata est a lege : cui autem vult nubat*, says ;

*In Synaxi Transubstantiationem sero definivit Ecclesia : diu satis erat credere, sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunque modo adesse verum corpus Christi. Ubi rem proprius contemplata est, ubi exactius expendit, certius præscripsit.*

So the fifth edition, so the fourth, so the third ; so also the second, A. 1519. The first hath no annotation to the 39th verse.”

Hence it appears that Erasmus is much wronged by Salmero,

Erasmus says, in another place;

*Olim non erat impium credere Spiritum Sanctum a solo Patre procedere; nunc secus est definitum. Olim satis erat credere corpus Domini adesse per consecrationem Sacerdotis; post inventa est Transubstantiatio.* T. IX. c. 961. Words, which, by the way, are not favourable to Transubstantiation.]

The seventh Tome contains his Paraphrases upon all the books of the New Testament, the Apocalypse excepted. In this edition care hath been taken, not only to mark all the verses in the margin, but to insert the whole Latin text (of which there were only a few words cited in Froben's edition) for the convenience of the reader. This work hath been ever highly esteemed; and Erasmus, who not only had carefully studied the New Testament in the original, but had translated it, and had perused all the antient interpreters who were known at that time, hath exerted all his learning, skill, and penetration, to explain the discourses of Jesus Christ and of his apostles, and to unfold their reasonings. His Paraphrase indeed is pretty diffuse, and sometimes he inserts a few notions which are not in the text: but, however, we find here none of the scholastic quibbles and subtilties; all is simple, unaffected and natural, and clear from the chicaneries of later ages. Erasmus usually goes upon such notions as were commonly received in the more antient ages of Christianity.

Although, since his days, great improvements have been made in the critical knowledge of the Scriptures, yet it is certain that, taking all together, and in the main, there are few commentators preferable to him. For the rest, this work of the Paraphrases should be considered as a Supplement to his Annotations on the New Testament, and should never be separated from them. In his Notes, he doth not always explain every thing that requires illustration; he is more attentive to words than to things; he produceth various readings, and the interpretation of the antients, often without deciding upon them, or delivering his own opinion; and he rarely toucheth upon the connection of the discourse and the train of reasoning. But in his Paraphrases we find, as it were, the result of his scriptural inquiries,

wherein he explains every thing in clear and precise terms, and chooseth that sense which appears best to him, and shows the scope and connection of all the parts. It is not, as some have affirmed, a work of his younger days: the Dedications show the contrary, by the dates, of which the oldest is 1517.

Joining then these two works together, we have an Interpretation of the New Testament as judicious and exact as could be made in his time, and to which very few deserve to be preferred of those which have been since published. As many and many religious controversies have been started and discussed since his time, his interpretations may be of no small use, to show us the most natural and obvious sense of such litigated passages of Scripture, and how they were understood by a learned man, who was not influenced by prejudice, and the spirit of party. It may be added, in praise of him and his work, that he paid very little regard to the disputes of his own times, because his was not a work of controversy, and his main point was to explain the New Testament by the New Testament, and in such a manner as to edify all the Christian world. So the Romanists and the Protestants may both of them read him and profit by him, unless they be quite soured and bigoted, and want to find their own particular notions in every page, by wresting passages of Scripture which contain nothing to the purpose. Accordingly in the reign of Edward VI. when the Reformation was begun in England, they could not pitch upon a better book to be perused by the common people, than the Paraphrases of Erasmus, translated into English; which, as Burnet says, being esteemed the best comment to unfold the sense of the New Testament, a copy of it was appointed to be put in every parish-church. It is true that this was not done without opposition made by Gardiner; but, as the same author observes, it was proved against him, that if there were some defects in this book, yet upon the whole it was the most impartial book, and fittest to be recommended to the public.

And yet impetuous and passionate men of both parties have violently exclaimed against his New Testament and his

**Paraphrases.** In the ninth Tome of the Works of Erasmus may be seen the Censures of the Romish Doctors; and if Bedda decried his Paraphrases, Beza hath very roughly handled his Annotations on the New Testament. But in those days the Protestants could as little bear the smallest dissent from their opinions, as the Romanists, from whom they seem to have learned their uncharitable sentiments; and besides they hated Erasmus, because he would not join himself to them, and had even opposed and decried them in his later compositions. But posterity, more candid and more equitable, hath forgiven Erasmus what it accounts to be blamable in his conduct, for the sake of his learned merits, and of the good which he hath done to Christianity; and moderate men of both communions have not refused him his due praises.

I know that Beza, on Tit. ii. 13. and on other places, hath reproached him not only for giving up the most celebrated texts, which are commonly urged to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ, but for exerting all his strength to invalidate them. Others have joined in the same accusation, although they cannot deny that he condemns the Arians most frequently and explicitly, and explains many passages of Scripture in a way contrary to their system. The very same reproaches have been cast upon a celebrated Dutchman, who hath deserved a statue, perhaps more than Erasmus, from his nation. Every one will see that I mean Grotius. The honour which this illustrious man did to his own country was as great, as the wrongs and injuries with which she repaid him.

I am astonished how men of sense can persevere in such accusations. For, in short, Erasmus and Grotius allege either good or bad reasons, to show that such passages are inconclusive. If their reasons be good for nothing, surely it is an easy matter to refute them, and to show that the mere authority of a writer, supported by no evidence, proves nothing. If the bare name of Erasmus and Grotius were of such weight, it might serve to establish this very doctrine of our Saviour's divinity, which they both acknowledged to be true, although they did not think that this or that particular text would prove it. Therefore I cannot

conceive why we should be so very angry with them. If we reject general councils, and the consent of many ages, and set aside their authority with relation to doctrines, or to their method of proving them, because we can show that they were much mistaken, why do we not behave in like manner towards these two interpreters of the Scriptures? But if these interpreters establish their opinion by good reasons, why do we urge those passages of Scripture, which, as they have plainly showed, are not to the purpose, are obscure, or ambiguous? The perspicuity or the darkness of an expression in an antient writer depends not upon the will and pleasure of posterity, which can find no more in it than there is in it. No assembly, no society can alter its nature, or hath any right to compel and necessitate men to see in it what they do not and cannot discern. These two learned men explained some texts in a way different from that which was generally current, only because they were convinced, that they had been generally misapplied, and that to rest a truth upon a precarious argument and an unsolid foundation, was to expose it to the successful attacks of those who are in an error. If they were mistaken, they mistook at least with upright intentions, and with a view to hinder men from taking weak surmises for solid arguments. Therefore we should rather hold ourselves obliged to them for their honest design, even supposing them to be mistaken, and confute their error in a candid and mild manner. On the contrary, we fly into an indecent passion, and rail at them without answering them, and ridiculously imagine that, if we can but defame them, we shall overset their authority. If this be a lawful procedure, there is not one interpreter of established reputation, whom we might not treat in the same manner, when we find his sentiments on some passages to be contrary to common opinions. Calvin and Beza, as I have observed elsewhere, would not then escape uncensured.

If men were influenced on these occasions by good principles, they would never endeavour to support truth by any other method than that of fair inquiry and examination. But, on the contrary, we often defend it, as men who do not even believe their own affirmations, and who



only endeavour to blacken their adversaries, without paying any regard to their reasons. We calumniate them, and when they have fully refuted those calumnies, we repeat them over and over again, as if they had never been answered. When we have inconsiderately engaged ourselves on the wrong side, and defamed the innocent, we think ourselves obliged in honour to persevere, and to employ every artifice that can serve our purpose. We importune the civil magistrate, we impose upon him by false representations, we induce him to prohibit those books, which we can neither refute by arguments, nor render useless and insignificant by writing better ourselves upon the same subject. Whence proceeds all this? Even from mere worldly passions, from envy, jealousy, pride, and hatred of those who differ from us in opinion. There is also at the bottom a secret consciousness of our own impotence, which puts us upon vain efforts to suppress what we cannot confute, and to be offended at those whom we cannot equal; for, if we were fully satisfied of our own superiority, we should rather laugh at them, and their works, and their notions. We also judge that if certain books are held in repute, the credit of those who entertain different sentiments is exposed to some peril. It was this which stirred up formerly so many enemies of Erasmus, from amongst the divines even of that party in which he himself chose to persevere. It is this which hath since raised as many adversaries, to persecute all those who have endeavoured to serve the public in a way not agreeable to certain Druids. It concerns those who are guilty of so base a conduct, to look to their conscience, and to beg pardon of God and man for their rage and violence, and to take up a new course, unless they would bring down upon themselves the punishments with which the divine Justice threatens those who make use of religion, as of a trick and a trade, to advance themselves in this world, and ruin their neighbours.

To return to Erasmus, his eighth Tome contains for the most part translations of Greek Fathers, of Chrysostom, Athanasius, Origen, and Basil. Although we have now much better editions of these authors than Erasmus had,

and versions more correct than his have been since made; yet his translations may still be useful, in such contests as may arise concerning the sense of particular passages in those Fathers; and his authority may serve not a little towards clearing up the truth. Besides; we find in this volume a Life of Origen, and critical remarks on several of his works, and of their old Latin versions. Origen doth not appear to Erasmus so much of an heretic, as to many other divines. But they who would be thoroughly informed of his person, his doctrines, and his writings, may consult the *Origeniana* of Huetius.

Whilst this volume was in the press, the Bookseller found some pieces, in prose and verse, composed by Erasmus in his early youth, which had not as yet appeared; and therefore thought it not amiss to put them at the end of the volume. They are, a Declamation in praise of peace, against the lovers of discord; a funeral Oration on a widow lady of Gouda; small poems in different kinds of metre. By these essays we see what might be expected from Erasmus, as he advanced in years; and there is some pleasure in reading the first efforts of a fine genius, though they carry with them the marks of puerility. It is indeed surprising how in barbarous times, and with such slender assistance, he could acquire all the erudition which appears in them.

To this is added a Critique of Franciscus Robortellus upon some of the Apophthegms, which Erasmus had translated from the Greek of Diogenes Laërtius, and which are contained in the fourth Tome. This censure is violent and unfair, and hath been well refuted by two very able men, by Paulus Leopardus in his *Corrections*, and by Petrus Nannius in his *Miscellanies*. We have also added an Oration of Joannes Heroldus, spoken in 1541, in the University of Basil, in defence of Erasmus against somebody who had attacked him after his decease.——

The edition of Basil is in no respect comparable to this of Leyden, either for the beauty of the impression, or the correctness of the work, or the Indexes, or the additional remarks, or any thing that can recommend an edition to the public. Even the volume of his Epistles, augmented

and corrected as they are, should induce any one to buy the whole, who values himself upon collecting a good library." *Bibl. Chois.* viii. 229.

" We will now make a review of all the Tomes of Erasmus, and dwell most upon those of which we have hitherto said little, to give a completer idea of his works, works so useful and so well deserving to be purchased by the collectors of libraries, that no one can blame us for offering this information to those who have never examined them, and who lay out their money upon books far less necessary.

The first Volume contains a part of the treatises composed by him for the instruction of young students; but the principal pieces are,

1. His celebrated Colloquies; which procured him great reputation, but were attacked by peevish men, who could not bear to see him endeavour to cure the human mind of a thousand minute superstitions which reigned in those days, and to bend it to solid virtue and true religion.

2. The *Ciceronianus*, a most spritely and entertaining dialogue against some fantastical scholars, who pretended that he who would write politely in Latin must not use a single word or phrase which was not to be found in Cicero.

3. A treatise concerning the true pronunciation of Greek and Latin; a work full of erudition, and which could only be the product of a strict attention and a most diffusive reading.

These three works will last for ever, and be for ever perused with pleasure by the most skilful and learned; as long as any portion of literature and of good sense shall remain in the world.

As to the rest, they are translations, treatises of Rhetoric and of Ethics, which may prove very useful to young persons who will take the pains to read them, but which are not entirely in the modern taste, the methods of studying having been much altered since the days of Erasmus. In perusing them, we shall often find, where we least expected it, some strokes of that facetious raillery which was so na-

tural to him, that he could not refrain from following his bent, when any occasion presented itself, or any pretty conceit came into his mind.

The second Volume contains the *Adages* or Proverbs, with the notes of Henry Stephen, and of others, under the text. Amongst all the works of Erasmus, there is none which shows more the extensiveness of his reading, and his great erudition. If he hath made some mistakes on a few passages, in times when he had not a tenth part of the assistances, which we now enjoy, for the illustration of antient authors, his errors bear no proportion to his learned and dextrous explication of such a variety of proverbs. Sometimes also he makes digressions, under some of them, which are extremely ingenious and elegant, as on *Dulce bellum inexpertis*; where he censures that rage and lust of fighting, which was as prevalent in his days as it is in ours. He gave excellent precepts, on this point, to the Christian princes who were at war, particularly to Charles V. and to Francis I, whose restless ambition more than once set all Europe in a flame.—It were much to be wished that the confessors of those kings, who bring so many dreadful calamities upon so many innocent families, so many provinces and realms, would oblige them, by way of penance, to have this beautiful digression of Erasmus read over to them once a year. Perhaps at last they might profit by it, and love peace as much as they now delight in war. But these directors of royal consciences have it much less at heart to save the souls of princes, and to promote the happiness of subjects, than to serve their own private ends by the favour of their masters, upon whom, for the greatest sins, they impose, by way of penance, some trifling acts of devotion, neither acceptable to God nor serviceable to men; not to say that too often they direct them to atone for lesser offences by committing far greater crimes [that is, by persecuting to death poor people who are called heretics].

There is another digression, under the proverb, *Sileni Alcibiadis*, which well deserves to be perused, where our author shows that appearances are deceitful, both as to good and as to evil. Under a mean and homely outside, rich treasures of wisdom and virtue have been concealed; as

under an air which promised every thing noble and amiable, nothing besides baseness and wickedness hath been found. This Erasmus verifies by examples of the most exalted persons, without sparing those who think themselves above all censure and reproof. We call, says he, priests, bishops, and popes, *the Church*, although they be only ministers of the church: for the church is the whole Christian people.— And of the Church we say that she appears in honour and splendour, not when piety is increased, and vice is diminished, when good morals are prevalent, and true doctrine flourisheth, but when the altars are embellished with gold and jewels; or rather, when, religion being totally neglected, the prelates rival temporal lords in lands, in domestics, in luxury, in mules, in horses, in houses, or rather in palaces, in every thing that makes a show and a noise. This is thought to be so just a manner of judging and speaking, that even in papal bulls these encomiums may be found; *Forasmuch as cardinal A. by his sumptuous equipage, and numerous train of horses and domestics, doth singular honour to the Church of Christ, we think it proper to add to his preferments another bishopric.*—If a man speaks with little reverence of a St. Christopher, or a St. George, and doth not equal such fabulous legends to the Gospel, he is immediately branded as a blasphemer.

But, by reading over this whole digression, it will appear still more evidently that Erasmus never missed an occasion to make useful remarks, not only for the explication of antient literature, but for the reformation of men and manners.

I shall observe, by the way, that Werdenhagen, in a book the title of which I have forgotten, hath published this dissertation of Erasmus as a curious anecdote, though the author had published it above an hundred years before, and though it had been reprinted in every subsequent edition of his *Adages*.

The bookseller had at first printed off this Tome, without an Index, thinking that it would be sufficient to insert it in a general Index to all the works of Erasmus; but he was advised to give a particular one to this volume.

I need not say much concerning the third Volume, which

contains the Epistles, having spoken largely of it in other places. More than 425 letters are inserted here, which were not in the edition of London. There is also a Chronological Index of them; and an Index at the end of the volume, which perhaps will be thought too copious. It might indeed have been abridged; but it is better that it should contain too much than too little.

In the fourth Volume are divers treatises of morality, either translated from Plutarch or composed by Erasmus. Although all the works of Plutarch are instructive and entertaining, those of Erasmus are not less so; and being originals, they are read with more pleasure than translations, which are always somewhat stiff and forced. The principal pieces of Erasmus, contained in this Tome, are The Praise of Folly; and a Treatise on the Tongue, which all evil-speakers and slanderers should read day and night. Even they who are free from this vice will do well to peruse it, to learn how to be upon their guard against the assaults and artifices of calumny. And all they who offend in their speech, as immoderate talkers, liars, swearers, will find many good lessons delivered in a lively and agreeable manner.

The fifth Volume contains Discourses of Piety, and some Christian Poems. The first treatise is the Enchiridion, of which we have spoken elsewhere. It is a good book, and very proper to be perused frequently by men of quality, and by military men; and though it be one of the earlier productions of Erasmus, it abounds with piety and good sense.

The book called A short Method of acquiring the Knowledge of true Divinity is also very useful. By true divinity Erasmus means an accurate knowledge of the duties which the Gospel requires of Christians. Here he gives some directions to those who intend to study the holy Scriptures; and although he hath some remarks adapted more properly to that age, and to the places wherein he lived, and we have now greater aids than he enjoyed, to obtain a skill in theology, we shall find that he gives in the former part of this small treatise a lively representation of the disposition of mind which renders a man capable of acquir-

ing a saving knowledge of Christianity, a knowledge that influences the manners, and, whilst it enlightens the understanding, regulates the affections of the heart.

The books concerning Christian Marriage, Christian Widowhood, the Art of Preaching, the Creed, and other tracts of the like kind, are no less valuable. All that Protestants can object to them, is, that in the works which Erasmus composed as he grew more advanced in years, he grew more cautious not to offend the ecclesiastics, and affected to speak more respectfully of popular devotions than he had been accustomed to do. But the Romanists on this very account should be the more disposed to read them, and to profit by them, and to be induced to pay a higher regard to the essentials of Christianity than to mere human institutions, which ought never to be put upon the level with the precepts of Jesus Christ and of his apostles.

As to his Poems, they are not equal to his compositions in prose; and indeed Erasmus never gave himself for an excellent poet: but if there be in them a want of enthusiasm, and of poetical style and numbers, there is much life and good sense; as there is in all his works of every kind.

The sixth Volume is the New Testament, the Greek and the Latin in two columns; and under the text the notes, which in preceding editions had been placed at the end. Some Indexes are added also from the edition of Basil, and all the Prefaces and Apologies which he had inserted in former editions.

They who understand the proper manner of explaining the holy Scriptures, have always highly esteemed this work, in which Erasmus hath acquitted himself of all the offices of a good interpreter, as far as the time and the circumstances in which he was situated could possibly permit. First, he took care to give the Greek text, not very common in those days, as correct as possible; and to this end he consulted all the manuscripts which he could procure, and carefully perused the Fathers, and the Greek Commentators, setting down most accurately all the various readings.

Of this there is a remarkable instance on 1 Joh. v. 7.

*For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost : and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth] the spirit, and the water, and the blood : and these three agree in one.*

Here he observes, 1. That in the Greek, only these words are found : *for there are three that bear record, the spirit, and the water, and the blood : and these three agree in one.*

2. That this passage is so cited by Cyril in the 14th book of his *Thesaurus*, and that an orthodox father, as he was, would infallibly have cited the whole passage against the Arians, if he had found it in any copies in his time.

3. That the same may be said of Augustin, who also cites it thus against Maximinus the Arian, although he omits nothing to establish the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, and although he pretends that the spirit, the water, and the blood, signify the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

4. That Beda cites the passage in the same manner as Augustin.

5. That the controverted words are not in a manuscript of the Minor Friars of Antwerp, which he had examined.

6. That indeed the authority of Jerom is urged on this occasion ; but that this father seems to complain, in a Preface which is prefixed to the Catholic Epistles, not of the Greek manuscripts, but of those who translated the Greek Testament into Latin ; and that at present the words, which, as he complains, were omitted, are not to be found in the Greek manuscripts, but only in some of the Latin ones.

“ But (says Erasmus) Whence could Jerom discover this error of the translators ? It must have been by the help of the Greek copies. But these Greek copies either were or were not conformable to our version. If they varied, as well as the Latin versions, by what indications can he show which is the best reading, and how the apostle wrote ? especially since the reading which he censures was publicly used in the church. If this were not the case, I know not what can be made of the following words : *Sed tu, virgo Christi, Eustochium, dum a me impensius Scripturæ veritatem inquiris, meam quodammodo senectutem invidiorum dentibus corrodam exponis, qui me falsarium corrupto-*



*remque sacrarum pronunciant Scripturarum.* For who would have called him a forger and a falsifier, unless he changed the common reading of the place? If Cyril amongst the Greeks did read what we now read in our Greek manuscripts, if Augustin and Beda did read so, or if they found both the one and the other reading, I see not what reason Jerom could give to prove that his way of reading was the true one. Some will say, This text furnisheth us with a strong argument against the Arians. But first, since it is certain that the manner of reading this passage hath varied amongst the Greeks and Latins, we cannot object it to them, because they will have the same right to claim that reading which favours them. But let it be supposed that the passage is incontestable, since what is said of the testimony of the water, the blood, and the spirit, that they are one (*unum sunt*, or rather, that they amount to one, *εἰς τὸ ἓν εἶσι*), relates not to an unity of nature, but to an uniformity of testimony, could the Arians, think we, be so stupid as not to interpret in the same manner what is said of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit? especially since the orthodox explain in the same way a passage in the Gospel of St. John; since Augustin rejects not this interpretation, when he disputes with Maximinus the Arian; and since the interlineary gloss explains it thus: *Unum sunt, id est, de eadem re testantur.* This is not the way to establish the faith, but to make it suspected, by trusting to such weak surmises. Perhaps it would be better to use our pious endeavours to become one with God and with Christ, than to discuss, with an over curious zeal, how the Son differeth from the Father, and how the holy Ghost from the one and the other. In truth, I see not how we can prove what the Arians denied, except by satisfactory arguments. In a word, this whole passage, being obscure, can be of small service for the confutation of heretics, &c.

But, not to dissemble any thing, one single Greek manuscript hath been discovered in England, wherein what is wanting in other manuscripts is found thus: "Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ θρανῷ, Πατὴρ, Λόγος, καὶ Πνεῦμα, καὶ ἔτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἐν εἰσιν. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ, πνεῦμα,

ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα <sup>m</sup> εἰς τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, &c. yet, I know not by what accident, what is in our Greek copies is not repeated here, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν, and these three agree in one. From this English manuscript we have supplied what is said to be deficient in our copies, that no one might take occasion to calumniate us; although I suspect that this manuscript hath been corrected and accommodated to some of our [Latin] copies. I have consulted two Latin manuscripts of very great antiquity in the library of St. Donatian at Bruges. Neither of them have the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and in one of them were not the words *in earth*: there was only, *There are three who bear record, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood.* In two manuscripts of Constance, after the testimony of the Water, the Blood, and the Spirit, were added these words; *as in heaven there are three, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and three are one.* There was neither *testimonium dant*, nor the pronoun *hi*. In a manuscript which I had from the public library of the university of Basil, there was not the testimony of the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood. Paulus Bombasius, at my request, copied out this passage from a very old manuscript in the Vatican library, which had not the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and with this manuscript agrees the edition of Aldus.”

Erasmus proceeds to show that there are Spanish editions, wherein variations are found, and that in reality nothing can be here meant besides an unity of consent. I shall add no more: this sufficeth to show how careful he was to settle the true reading of the text of the New Testament, without paying any regard to theological prejudices, which make men seek in the holy scriptures only what seems proper in their opinion to establish the sentiments which they have adopted. If Erasmus lived in these days, he would see with pleasure that Jerom's pretended Preface to the Catholic Epistles, upon which so much stress was once laid, is the work of an impostor, as father Martianai, although no extraordinary critic, hath fully proved

<sup>m</sup> In this MS. it is *ei*.

in his edition of Jerom's version. He would see that on this particular occasion there was no reason to blame Jerom, though the judgment which he passed upon the fictitious Jerom be reasonable and just. At present this passage, and all that relates to it, hath been so fully discussed, that none except stubborn and perverse people pretend to deny that the *heavenly witnesses* are an interpolation. But there is the more reason to admire the sagacity and the judiciousness of Erasmus, who discovered the false reading.

This critical remark of Erasmus was most violently attacked by Edward Lee, and by some Spanish monks; but he defended himself in the excellent Apologies which are in the last volume of his works. Some Protestants have renewed the attack, but have not been able to hinder men of abilities and discernment from taking his side; especially since later discoveries have set the thing in a clear light.

Secondly, We cannot too much commend Erasmus for his laborious endeavours to remove an obstinate prejudice of those times in favour of the Vulgate, which was preferred to the Greek original. Therefore, upon every opportunity, he shows in his notes that this version was barbarous, obscure and inaccurate. He did more; he was the first who undertook to give a better; and it must be owned that he hath succeeded well in the main, though, since his days, critical knowledge, being more cultivated, hath given occasion to greater improvements that way.

Thirdly, it must be acknowledged that his notes, besides critical censures of the Vulgate, contain many excellent philological and theological remarks, founded upon a knowledge of the Greek language, of the style of the scriptures, of the doctrine of the fathers, and upon a natural good sense and discernment. Others have gone beyond him in many things, because they had more assistances than fell to his share: but it was he who opened the way, and pointed out the path that was to be pursued; and by building upon the foundations which he had laid, they proceeded to make improvements. Theodorus Beza attacked this work with abundance of small cavils and chicaneries, which for a time prejudiced many of the Protestants against Erasmus; but posterity, in spite of all his

attempts, hath done justice to the memory of this great man.

Father Simon, in his remarks upon the Versions and the Commentators of the New Testament, hath collected all that may be said for and against Erasmus; but this critic also hath produced nothing that should induce us to part with our favourable opinion of Erasmus, whom Simon hath censured only about trifles, which might as well be urged against Jerom, and rather better than against Erasmus, as it would be easy enough to show. After all, it must be owned that Erasmus hath made some mistakes: and what author is there of whom the same may not be said?

In the seventh Tome are the Paraphrases of Erasmus on all the New Testament, the Apocalypse excepted. It may be affirmed in general, that nothing is contained in these Paraphrases which is not conformable to the spirit and scope of the Gospel, and which may not edify all sorts of Christians. Erasmus having in his eye only the text of the New Testament, and a few of the more antient interpreters, as Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerom, and being likewise an enemy to scholastic subtilties, hath always adhered to opinions antiently and generally approved, without mixing controversy in his Paraphrases. They abound with piety and good sense: they also show the mild and complying spirit of the author, who, observing that offence had been taken at some of his notes on the New Testament, hath chosen in his Paraphrases to give rather the more common opinions than his private and particular sentiments; as it appears on 1 John v. 7. where he paraphrases the *three who bear witness in heaven* <sup>a</sup> according to the common notions.

As he had studied the fathers with as much application, at the least, as any of his contemporaries, he hath in his Paraphrases delivered the sense of Christian antiquity with great art and perspicuity.

There are two ways of paraphrasing the holy Scriptures. The first is close and concise, admitting no idea which is not expressed in the text, or most evidently deducible from it, and necessary to show the connexion of the discourse.

<sup>a</sup> Not altogether,

In such expositions, the Paraphrast doth not speak in his own person, and as representing in his own style what the sacred writers have said, but he speaks just as he thinks that they themselves would have spoken if they had used the language in which he writes. Such paraphrases serve much to express the force of the reasonings used by the sacred writers, and the connexion of their discourse, as well as the sense of their words. And this method I have endeavoured to follow in my Paraphrase of the Harmony of the Gospels. But there is another sort of paraphrase, which is more diffuse, and wherein the doctrine contained in each verse, or section, is in some manner discussed, unfolded, and laid before the reader, without very scrupulously regarding whether the sacred author intended to excite just the same number of ideas in our minds. More liberty is taken here in connecting and ranging the thoughts than in the other way of paraphrasing, because there is not so close an adherence to the words of the text: and this is the character of the Paraphrases of Erasmus.

They gave such satisfaction in England, at the time of the Reformation, that they were translated into English, and put, along with the Bible, in all the churches for public use. It is true that Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, opposed it, and asserted that the Paraphrase of Erasmus, bad enough in itself, was made still worse by the English translation. Whether his censure of that version was just or unjust, I know not: but Gardiner, who understood the divinity of the schools better than that of the scriptures, was not capable of relishing such a work as this; and Cranmer replied very well to him, that this Paraphrase like all other theological books (except the holy Scriptures) was not infallible, and absolutely without faults; but that it was the very best of the kind; that it was therefore more expedient to adopt the interpretations of so learned a man, than to make new ones, which would be still more exposed to censure; and that Erasmus, all things considered, was the most impartial of all expositors. Nothing could be truer than this, and in the whole Christian world the most impartial and unprejudiced divine of that age was undoubtedly Erasmus. Moreover, if an interpreter was to be

chosen, who was well acquainted with ecclesiastical antiquities, and who declined all scholastic novelties, and such an one was very necessary on this occasion, Erasmus was not only the best, but the only one who could be found, none being in any degree comparable to him in this respect. Accordingly these Paraphrases were highly esteemed in Cranmer's days, and have been so ever since: and if it be true, that a very mean edition of them printed at Hanover sold very well in England, our bookseller may reasonably hope that this edition will be not less acceptable, since it is infinitely superior both in beauty and correctness. But the reader must not attribute to Erasmus the summaries of each chapter, put into verse. He who revised and corrected this edition inserted them; and Erasmus was very far from being as mean a poet as this versificator.

The eighth Volume hath scarcely any thing besides translations of treatises composed by Greek fathers, by Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Basil. There is also here a small tract of Erasmus, containing the Life of Origen, and a critical account of his works. Then follows the translation of a Fragment of Origen's Commentary on St. Matthew, which had fallen into the hands of Erasmus. We have it now in Greek and Latin, and in much better condition, by the care of Huetius, whose *Origeniana* are, in their kind, an accomplished work. But although we now have the writings of the abovementioned fathers far more complete and exact than Erasmus had them, yet it is useful to preserve his versions and his remarks, because disputes may arise concerning the sense of those authors, or concerning the genuineness of those tracts, or concerning the esteem in which they ought to be held; and in these cases the authority of Erasmus may be of weight, for the decision of such controversies.

For example: He passeth this censure on a ° letter of Athanasius to Serapion, an Ægyptian bishop.

“ With submission to the judgment of the learned, I am of opinion that this is the work of an idle stupid fellow, who had a mind to imitate the books of Athanasius to Se-

° It is the first piece of the second part of the 1st Tome of the Benedictine Edition of Athanasius.

rapion. Here is a strange jumble of passages, a confused and perplexed way of reasoning, and a tiresome repetition of the same things."

Yet father Montfaucon affirms that they who have studied the works of Athanasius, will find in this letter both the style and the method of this father, and that therefore there is no reason to call in question the authority of the manuscripts, which constantly ascribe it to Athanasius. I am of the same opinion with Montfaucon; but after having carefully perused this Epistle, I think also that Erasmus hath not judged amiss concerning the performance, though he be mistaken as to the author. It is no uncommon error to imagine that the abilities of an antient father must be proportionable to the figure which he made in the world, and to the praises which the ecclesiastics of his own times bestowed upon him. When we come to read the books which go under his name, we are often amazed to find them very middling compositions, and beneath the idea which we had formed of them. Hence some are tempted to conclude that such books must be falsely ascribed to him; and this happened to Erasmus in the present case. Others who judge of things by persons impose upon themselves, and fancy beauties in a work, which they would have slighted if it had been ascribed to some obscure or anonymous author. Whilst we pardon them this frailty, which they have in common with multitudes, we should endeavour ourselves to judge of authors by their compositions, and of those compositions by their intrinsic value, paying no regard to mere names, and to the flattering testimonies of past ages. He who would satisfy his own mind, and avoid error and prejudice, must follow this method: but I must confess, that he who chooseth rather to please the majority, and to secure their good opinion, must pursue a method directly opposite.

To return to Erasmus: This volume of his works being slender, the bookseller, having recovered some unpublished tracts of Erasmus, and some pieces written for and against him, which were grown scarce, hath joined them to this volume, though the subjects be of a different kind. It is better to have them here than not to have them at all.

The first is a speech concerning peace and discord, composed by Erasmus when he was only twenty years of age. It is an ingenious declamation, for a boy, and far beyond the common performances of those times; and we see with pleasure the first attempts of a great genius, which having produced such pretty blossoms, could not fail in due time to yield excellent fruits.

The same may be said of the second piece, which is a funeral oration on a widow lady of Gouda, named Berta de Heyen. It is addressed to her daughters, who were nuns.

The third is a collection of poems, of which the first is an Eclogue composed by Erasmus, at the age of fourteen, when he was at school at Deventer, under Alexander Hegeius. Then follow other poems, most of them upon Christian subjects. From these little exercises it may be collected, that, if he had continued to employ his talents that way, he might have become a good poet.

To these are subjoined, 4. Critical remarks of Franciscus Robortellus upon the apophthegms or sayings of Diogenes the Cynic, taken from Diogenes Laërtius, and translated by Erasmus, whom Robortellus rudely censures for faults, most of which are imaginary, and the rest mere trifles. Paulus Leopardus and Petrus Nannius undertook the defence of Erasmus; and it is well known that this Robortellus was a quarrelsome critic, who thought to acquire reputation by attacking his betters.

The last piece is a Speech of Joannes Heroldus in favour of Erasmus, against some person who had libelled him after his death. It was spoken by order of the magistrate, and in the university of Basil. It is beneath the compositions of Erasmus; but, as it was drawn up in his defence, a place hath been granted to it in this volume.

Tome the ninth. As Erasmus did the most service to the public of any person in his age; so was he the most spitefully and injuriously treated by those who ought to have honoured him and returned him thanks. He was therefore obliged to compose a great variety of Apologies, against various kinds of adversaries; and these constitute the ninth Tome of Froben's edition. We have made two



parts of it, that the volume might not be too bulky, as there are here large additions. Many of the Epistles of Erasmus may be also considered as so many Apologies; and if they were added to this Tome, they would make a third part, as large as either of the two, and relating to the same purpose. But no reasonable man will think the worse of Erasmus upon this account, since he only defends himself, at least for the most part, against very unjust and outrageous assaults. If he himself is too violent and acrimonious in some of his replies, I lay all the blame upon the divines of that age. They were the men who compelled one of the sweetest and most peaceable temper to depart from his mild nature, and to be far more peevish and passionate than he would else have been.

To give the reader some notion of the Apologies of Erasmus, we may range them under two sorts, according to the adversaries with whom he had to do. The one were zealous for the Church of Rome, as it then stood, and undertook to defend it in all respects against him. The others had separated themselves from that Church, and expected that Erasmus should do the same. The first accused him of favouring the sentiments of Luther, and of Luther's followers: the second complained that he did not openly declare himself for the Reformers. When he writes against the Romish doctors, he cannot forbear, even whilst he disclaims the Lutheran sentiments, from declaring that he saw several things in the Church which stood in need of reformation, and even from commending Luther and his disciples. On the other hand, when he disputes with the Protestants (as they were afterwards called) he commends the Church of Rome, and reproaches them with many things which he accounted blameable in their conduct. Thus, instead of pacifying his adversaries, he provoked them more and more; and he provoked them undesignedly and unawares; for he was not a man of artifice, who knew how to conceal, and how to discover himself, as his interests should require. He followed the warm suggestions of his mind, and spake as he thought, without considering the disposition of those whom he wanted to win over, and without concerning himself much about consequences.

This appears in general from his Epistles, as we have showed in his Life; and it appears from his Apologies, which we will examine in few words, taking them in the order wherein they are ranged.

1. His letter to Martin Dorpius is a defence of his *Encomium Moriæ*, which had shocked the divines, whom Erasmus in a bantering way had inserted amongst the number of *fools*, as well as all other orders and degrees of men. It is only too true, that a great number of these, who took the title of Theologers, honestly deserved a place amongst those whose brains were not in right order; and Erasmus proves it sufficiently, showing at the same time that honest and worthy men had no reason at all to think themselves the objects of his raillery.

2. Erasmus, on Heb. ii. 7. had explained these words of the second Psalm, *Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels*, (which the author of this Epistle applies to Jesus Christ,) in this manner, *Thou hast made him for a little time lower than the angels*. For this interpretation he assigned reasons, which may be seen in his notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews. Jacobus Faber Stapulensis pretended that it ought to be translated, according to the Hebrew, *Thou hast made him a little lower than God*; and applied it to the incarnation. Having read the remarks of Erasmus, he wrote against them; and Erasmus replied in this Apology. As they were friends, the controversy was carried on with some civility, and Faber replied not again. In this debate they seem both of them to have been mistaken.

3. As Erasmus often insisted upon the necessity of studying Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and now and then derided the ignorant scholastics; Jacobus Latomus, a divine of Louvain, composed a Dialogue, in which he maintained the contrary opinion, but without naming Erasmus. Yet, as it was commonly supposed that Latomus had him in view, Erasmus judged it proper to defend his own sentiments, which he did with great facility, and with much moderation, in this treatise. And so Latomus and he continued to be friends.

4. In his youth, he had made a Declamation in praise of

matrimony, and had preferred it to celibacy: and this had set the ecclesiastics of Louvain against him. His Apology for this Discourse is short, and turns mostly upon matters of fact.

5. Some divines, less attached to things than to words, were angry that Erasmus had translated the first verse of St. John's Gospel; In the beginning was *Sermo, Speech*, instead of *Verbum, the Word*. Erasmus showed them that the Latin translator, whose version was used in the Church of Rome, had frequently so translated the Greek word *Λόγος*, and that many Latin Fathers had done the same. Beza and Castalio have followed Erasmus here, in their Latin versions of the New Testament: Yet the place might be translated; In the beginning was *Reason*: and this is perhaps the true meaning of St. John.

6. Edward Lee, to acquire reputation at the expense of Erasmus, attacked his first edition of the New Testament, though the second was published, wherein the author had corrected several things. This was very unfair; and indeed Lee neither understood Greek nor Divinity; so that Erasmus found it no difficult matter to refute him. His objections are paltry chicaneries, built upon his own ignorance and incapacity, and not upon any real foundation. Yet Lee returned to the assault, with new animadversions; to which Erasmus also replied, because his adversary was supported by the monks, who applauded every thing that came out against this learned man.

7. Jacobus Lopes Stunica, a Spanish divine, and a far more able man than Lee, attacked Erasmus also, who answered him. As Stunica acted with more artifice and malice, our author answered him with more vehemence and scornful raillery. Stunica made his remarks upon the version and the notes of Erasmus; and though he be sometimes in the right, yet for the most part his censures are mere cavils upon trifles, and upon passages which he spitefully endeavoured to set in the most odious light.

On Matt. xxii. 10. where mention is made of the Herodians, Erasmus, following Jerom, had said that the Evangelist gives this name to the soldiers of Herod the proselyte, whom Augustus had set over the Jews to collect

the tribute in the name of the Roman emperor. Stunica derided this note, and not without reason, because, 1. St. Matthew could not speak of the soldiers of Herod the Great, who had been dead more than thirty years; and therefore these Herodians, supposing them to be Herod's soldiers, could only have had their denomination from Herod Antipas, his son, who was then alive. 2. Because this Herod Antipas was not king of Judæa, but only tetrarch of Galilee. 3. Because Herod the Great had been made king of Judæa by the senate, at the recommendation of Antony and Augustus, and not by Augustus alone, and was not appointed king to collect the taxes in the name of the Roman emperor.

All this is true, as it is well known to those who are acquainted with Josephus; and it is pretty plain that Erasmus, when he wrote this note, did not consult Josephus, or had quite forgotten what Josephus relates concerning Herod and his posterity. Stunica might have added that it was improper to call Herod the Great a proselyte, since he doubtless had been circumcised in his infancy, and the Idumæan nation, to which Antipater his father belonged, had received the rite of circumcision long before the birth of Herod, under Hyrcanus, as Josephus informs us.

To all this Erasmus replies, 1. That he had not affirmed that this was the first of the Herods: but Erasmus had sufficiently intimated it by calling him a proselyte, since Herod's children, born and bred in the Jewish church, could in no sense be called proselytes. Besides, Erasmus, in the following editions of his Notes, calls him son of Antipater, which can only denote Herod the Great. He answers, 2. That it might be properly said that Augustus established Herod over the Jews, to gather the tribute, because he was made king for that purpose. This is a mistake. Herod was neither gatherer of the taxes, nor a tributary prince; nor did the Roman senate, nor Antony, nor Augustus, make him king for that purpose. 3. Erasmus shelters himself under the authority of Jerom, from whom he had taken what he said about Herod, and who plainly affirms that this Herod was son of Antipater. This was a proper answer to stop the mouth of a man, who would not

dare to say that Jerom was mistaken : but in itself it was good for nothing.

Here are the words of Jerom, which show that he is no sure guide in matters of antient history :

“ Not long after the time, when, under Augustus Cæsar, Judæa subjected to the Romans had been made tributary, a decree was published that all the world should be taxed (or enrolled). Hereupon there was a great dissension amongst the Jews, some of them saying that, for the public repose and safety, tribute ought to be paid to the Romans, since the Romans waged war in defence of all : but the Pharisees, who applauded themselves for their own righteousness, maintained that the people of God, who paid tithes and first fruits, and observed all that the law required, ought not to be subject to human ordinances.”

Thus far nothing is censurable, if it be applied to the tax, or enrolment, which was made in Judæa, when after the deposition of Archelaus, son of Herod the Great, it was reduced to a Roman province. We must not confound with this taxing (as Jerom seems to have done) that which was made under Herod the Great, at the time of our Saviour's birth. His words *in toto orbe, in all the world*, seem to refer to the words of Luke ii. 1. concerning the enrolment at the time of Christ's birth. If so, Jerom had a confused idea of the history of those times. He adds ;

“ Cæsar Augustus had made Herod king of the Jews, who was an alien and a proselyte, to preside over the tribute, and to be subject to the Roman empire. The Pharisees therefore sent their disciples with the Herodians, that is to say, with the soldiers of Herod.”

But Herod son of Antipater was dead, as we said before, above thirty years, in the last year of Christ's ministry, and what Jerom saith of this prince is contrary to history. It is strange that Erasmus should choose rather implicitly to follow this Father, than to get better information from Josephus.

Hence it appears that Stunica was in the wrong to quarrel with Erasmus upon Matth. xxvi. 31. because Erasmus had reproved Jerom there for a fault, though he did it with great

caution, and after having highly commended him: for, if Erasmus deserved to be so vehemently censured for having committed the same mistake with Jerom, he could not deserve to be insulted for having rectified a fault in Jerom.

Erasmus defends himself in like manner, on Acts xvi. 11. for having said, on the authority of Jerom, that Neapolis there mentioned was a city of Caria in Asia Minor. It was a city of Macedonia, as Stunica said, not by mere conjecture, as Erasmus tells him, but with good reason, and upon the clearest evidence. Erasmus, however, corrected this error in subsequent editions.

There was still more violence and virulence in the reply of Stunica, entitled, *The blasphemies and impieties of Erasmus*, and some other pieces, which Erasmus also answered.

8. He defended himself likewise against a Spanish monk, called Sanctius Caranza, who had taken Stunica's part. He treats them both as they deserved, for they kept no common decency towards him.

9. Nicholas d'Egmond, a Carmelite of Louvain, had censured a passage in the version of Erasmus on 1 Cor. xv. 51. *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed*, which the Vulgate translates, *We shall all sleep, but we shall not all be changed*. Erasmus shows that both the manuscripts and the antient commentators vary on this place.

10. Erasmus sometimes, by way of banter, calls this Carmelite a *Camelite*, because he had no more sense than a camel: but Natalis Bedda, a divine of Paris, was not a more reasonable creature than the *Camelite*. He exerted his malice in collecting various and detached passages from Erasmus, which seemed to favour the Lutherans, and in wresting and misrepresenting every thing that could be put in an odious light. Erasmus, 1. answers the remarks which this divine had made upon his Paraphrases. 2. He gives a short refutation of his erroneous censures. 3. He defends about two hundred propositions extracted from his Paraphrases, which Bedda had accused of heterodoxy and heresy; and enumerates the errors of his adversary. According to the calculation of Erasmus, Bedda, upon a very

moderate computation, and favourable examination, had been guilty of a hundred and eighty-one lies, three hundred and ten calumnies, and forty-seven blasphemies. 4. He also confutes the censures which this man had passed upon some other works of Erasmus.

To enter into a detail of all this would tire the reader, and make these observations too bulky. I shall therefore only extract a passage from the conclusion of the defence of Erasmus.

“ If the Church, says he, is not supported by a better Atlas, it is high time to write its epitaph. I undertake not to defend those, who, under pretence of the Gospel, pursue the things of the flesh; I have nothing in common with the sentiments of Luther: but it cannot be denied that the doctrine of Luther approacheth much nearer to the true spirit of Christianity, than the theology of Bedda. I speak of the books which he hath written against me; as to his other books, I have not perused them, and I know not by whose advice they were published. For what is it that Bedda hath in view? It is this, to make men set a great esteem upon scholastic quibbles, vain subtilties, human ordinances, the worshipping of images, the difference of meats and of garbs; upon a reliance in their own works, and in a holy week spent in acts of penance. I condemn none of these actions, unless they be done without discretion and measure, and in the spirit of superstition. As to true evangelical piety Bedda says nothing at all, or he talks so coldly that any one may discern that it proceeds not from the heart. *We ought,* says he, *to place our confidence in God, and also in other necessary means, and principally in our own good works.* With what coldness and reluctance doth this man confess that we ought to place our trust in God, he who is so vehement on other occasions!

“ Nothing can be so well expressed which this man will not wrest and distort, to squeeze out of it some calumniating consequence; and yet he enumerates his pretended heresies. I will engage to extract in a few days five thousand such heresies from the most approved doctors of the Church, and even from the sacred books. What is more

venerable and holy than the Lord's Prayer? If you will give me leave, I will play the Bedda upon it. *Our Father, &c. Father.* This smells of Arianism, as if the Father alone were to be invoked, as the only true God; for here is no mention made of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. *Our Father.* Dangerous words, since Christians may hence imagine that they are the children of God by nature, even as Jesus Christ. It should have been, *Our Father by adoption, and not by nature. Who art in heaven:* This approacheth to blasphemy; as if God could be in any place *definitivè* and *circumscriptivè*, he who is not more in one place than in another, &c."

Certain it is that Bedda criticised exactly in this manner the works of Erasmus. But it is certain likewise that Erasmus disapproved many scholastic doctrines which the Universities approved, and held many opinions which they rejected. And accordingly we find only one single treatise of Bedda on *Confession*, which is simply and barely called *a prohibited book*, in the *Index*; but all the works of Erasmus are mangled and curtailed in that *Index*, his reply to Bedda not excepted. Honest Erasmus wanted to lead the divines insensibly into better notions, by persuading them that they did in reality hold those reasonable sentiments which they ought to have held, and that such sentiments had been constantly reputed orthodox, because they were to be found in the earlier and purer ages of Christianity. But these men were not to be thus imposed upon for their spiritual good; and it would have been an easier matter to have made them worse, than to have made them better.

11. Our author afterwards defended himself against Petrus Sutor, a Carthusian and a Doctor of the Sorbonne, who had cavilled at many things in his New Testament, and particularly at his design of making a new version, as if the Vulgate had not been good enough. He had also criticised divers of the notes of Erasmus.

12. At last Erasmus had upon his hands the whole Faculty of Divinity of Paris, which reduced the censurable passages in his works to thirty-two articles of impeachment. This attack vexed him much; and although he had already answered every one of these articles, which had



been objected to him by other people, he had the whole work to go over again. The cause of all this outcry was, in his opinion, that he had formed a plan of divinity upon the holy Scriptures and the Fathers of the first ages, and that he expressed his notions in better Latin and in clearer terms than had been employed in other theological treatises. He ought to have begun at the wrong end, have studied modern scholastics, have learned to write and reason like them, and then have perused antiquity to pick up authorities to justify the school-men, and have railed at all those who dared to depart from these teachers. Then he would have received the loudest applauses of all the Universities.

From these animadversions of the French divines, it appears plainly enough that they favoured and adopted many opinions and many practices which Erasmus disliked.

13. Then follows a refutation of I know not what person, who called himself *Phimostomus*, the *Mouth-stopper*. This writer had undertaken to confute the sentiments of Erasmus concerning divorce, on 1 Cor. vii.

14. He also answers an anonymous adversary, who had published against him *Collationes Juvenis Γεροντοδιδασκάλου*, *Conferences of a young man who instructs an old man*, and which are a defence of the Vulgate. He found it an easy task to refute this young babbler, who, it seems, read private lectures of divinity at Louvain.

But I confess that I was surprised to find in Erasmus, <sup>p</sup> on Rom. xvi. 5. where St. Paul salutes Epænetus, who was the first-fruits of *Achaia*, or, according to the Vulgate, of *Asia*, that if by *Asia* we understand all the country which is commonly called *Asia Minor*, *Achaia* is a part of *Asia*; but if we take it for *Asia* properly so called, *Achaia* doth not belong to it. Children know at present that *Achaia* was a part of Greece, within the Peloponnesus, and at its entrance. But in the time of Erasmus there were fewer helps for the understanding of geography; and this

<sup>p</sup> Vide Artem Criticam, p. 1. c. 1. 3. et Indicem ad vocem *Erasmus*.

made him commit no small <sup>¶</sup> faults in the former editions of his New Testament.

15. He also found it no difficult matter to defend himself against some Spanish monks, in an Apology dedicated to the archbishop of Seville, the inquisitor-general: but reasonable as his defence was, it satisfied none of the divines of that country, where his works were put into the *Index*. Erasmus pleads his cause here, just as though he had to do with equitable judges: but to seek equity in a land of inquisition, is like seeking erudition in Turkey.

16. Albertus Pius, prince of Carpi, drew up a malicious exhortation to Erasmus, to dissuade him from Lutheranism, and composed a work of twenty-four books against him. Erasmus answered him in two Apologies, in which he boldly utters many truths which must have highly provoked those whose favour he was endeavouring to obtain, and who, though they had none of his erudition and penetration, yet were infinitely more crafty than he, where their interests were concerned, interests not at all compatible with the truths advanced by Erasmus.

17. In his Colloquies and in other writings he had often declared against imposing the Lent-fast upon all persons indifferently. He himself could not observe it, and had obtained a dispensation from the Pope. However, he thought himself obliged, on account of evil rumours spread against him, to draw up an Apology.

If the bishop of Basil, to whom it is addressed, was a man of probity and good sense, it could not be unacceptable to him; but if he was a superstitious or a political prelate, it must have hurt Erasmus much in the opinion of such a person.

18. The last treatise in this volume is his first book against Luther on the question concerning Free-will. We have said enough about this controversy in the Life of Erasmus.

The tenth Volume, or, as you may call it, the second part of the ninth Volume, contains the remainder of his Apologies, some additional pieces, and a general Index.

<sup>¶</sup> See Erasmus, tom. ix. c. 1013.

1. Here is, first, a defence of his Dissertation on Free-will, against Luther, and a refutation of a letter written by Luther. Erasmus in this treatise is very warm and sowe, whether it was that Luther had vexed him, or whether he wanted to convince the world that he was not of the party. Although he had taken the right side of the question concerning human liberty of action, yet the question was too subtle and metaphysical for a man who had not studied philosophy; and indeed he is not here always consistent with himself. If he had outlived Luther, he would have had the consolation to see the most eminent and skilful Lutherans enter into his opinion; and he would have found by experience that these honest Germans were infinitely more capable of laying aside old prejudices, and of proceeding from good to better, than some nations, which proudly imagine themselves to have far more penetration and brighter abilities.

2. Some person published a book entitled, *Doctissimi Erasmi Roterodami ac Martini Lutheri Opinio de Cæna, &c.* wherein he pretended to show that Erasmus was in the sentiments of Carolostadius, who rejected the Real Presence. Erasmus replies with great vehemence. In this, and in some following controversial pieces, he writes like a man in a passion, who defends himself in a way that could please nobody.

3. Such is also his Epistle to Gerard of Nimmegen, against those who falsely called themselves Evangelics; and such is his Reply to the Letter of the Divines of Strasburg.

4. In the Life of Erasmus, we have spoken of Ulric Hutten, and of the book called *Spongia*, which Erasmus wrote against this man. Better had he held his peace, than have published the detail of an uninteresting frivolous quarrel, which doth no honour to so great a man as he was.

5. We have an answer to an anonymous monk, who accused him of despising the Religious Orders.

6. The next piece contains his quarrels with Eppendorf, of which we have already spoken.

7. The tract entitled *Antibarbari* is only the beginning of a larger work, which should have contained four books,

and of which only one remains. In the Preface we are told how the work was lost in Italy. Erasmus had not leisure and inclination to retrieve the loss and resume the subject. This first book is an answer to the objections which the monks in the days of Erasmus usually made to literature. He began this performance at the age of twenty, and would afterwards have suppressed it, if he had not feared that others would seize upon the strayed copy, and publish it. Therefore he revised it as well as he could, though he would not attempt to complete it. It is an ingenious and sensible work. It may still have its use in the regions where literature is little regarded, and it cannot fail to entertain men of letters, especially his own countrymen, who have showed an affection for sciences, since his decease, equal to the contempt which they bestowed upon them in the days of his life.

8. Then follows a short letter to some Minorites, who defamed Erasmus, and whom he treats, according to their merits, with infinite scorn.

9. The next is a Defence against Petrus Cursius, who had attacked Erasmus for a letter falsely imputed to him. We have already spoken of it.

10. Erasmus had for his seal the figure of the god *Terminus*, with this legend, *Cedo nulli*. This, as his enemies pretended, was a most insupportable vanity; and the poor man was obliged to draw up an Apology about it, addressed to the Emperor's secretary. Thus, instead of putting favourable constructions upon his conduct, they criticised every thing that he did and said, with the utmost malignity. It is no wonder that such usage made him somewhat peevish in his old age.

The tracts hitherto mentioned were in Froben's edition. The following pieces are added in the edition of Leyden :

1. An Apology for Erasmus by Martin Lydius, containing extracts from his works, which show his notions concerning Arianism, of which he was unjustly suspected, because he did not revile the Arians sufficiently. This apologist hath also collected his sentiments concerning the principal controversial points on which Christians are still divided. These citations show that Erasmus did not talk

in a way suitable to the prejudices of the times in which he lived, though he was not willing to make any schism upon that account. In pleading his cause he often defended himself, as we have observed, in a way to make those whose favour he seemed to court think worse of him than they did before.

2. The passages in his works which are censured by the *Index* of Madrid, and which confirm the fore-mentioned observation.

3. A funeral Oration (well drawn up, and far better than that of Heroldus at the end of the eighth Tome) by Guilielmus Insulanus (de l'Île) provost of St. Aldabert at Aix-la-chapelle. It is an encomium and an apology for our author, by a canon of the church, which is much to the honour of the composer.

4. A Letter of Erasmus to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII. It came too late to hand, to be inserted amongst the Epistles of Erasmus.

Lastly, Here is a new General Index to all the works (excepting the third Volume of the Epistles, which hath an Index of its own) and an Index of the passages of Scripture explained in them.

They who shall compare this edition with that of Froben will find it far better on many accounts. The additions, those especially which are made to the Volume of the Epistles, are so considerable, that the edition of London is not to be compared to it.

They who love the genius of Erasmus, and who are of opinion, as all judicious men are, that much is to be learned from his works, both for the subjects of which they treat, and for the history of that age, and they who are collectors of libraries, cannot be without this edition. If the war, in which Europe is at present involved, be once put to an end, the small number of copies which have been printed, will not suffice to satisfy the demands of the curious, and the works of Erasmus will again become as scarce as ever. If each of the public libraries of Europe is furnished with a copy (and if it is not, it must be by the fault of the librarian) private persons will soon be unable to get one. But there will be always some separate treatises

of Erasmus, which have gone through many editions, which every one may procure, and peruse to his own advantage, if he hath any capacity. The reading of these Tracts will excite in us a great indignation against those, who, instead of receiving instruction from this excellent teacher, compelled him to spend so much of his time in writing defences. It is a disgrace to the human understanding, and above all to the men who are called doctors of the most eminent of sciences, that truth should want as many apologies as falsehood, and that the former is become a dangerous thing to profess in this world. *Bibl. Chois. xii. 1.*

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# DESIDERII ERASMI

ROTERODAMI

## OPERA OMNIA,

IN DECEM TOMOS DISTINCTA.

*Lugduni Batavorum, MDCCLIII.*

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### TOMUS PRIMUS.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

CUM novam summi viri Desid. Erasmi operum editionem moliretur Petrus Vander Aa, Lugdunensis Bibliopola, Antiquitatibus Græcis et Romanis, aliisque Veterum et Recentiorum monumentis editis non incelebris, consiliumque suum necum communicaret; serio gavisus sum aliquando tandem rariores et in paucis bibliothecis delitescentes maximi illius ingenii fœtus in publicam lucem revocari. Sæpe audiveram viros eruditos graviter querentes præstantissimorum hominum, qui proxime præteritis sæculis floruerunt, eximia opera ex manibus studiosorum Literarum excuti, vel sola raritate, cum non nisi ægre et ingenti pretio comparari possent; dum jejuna Recentiorum volumina, magnâ copiâ, in lucem quotidie protruduntur, et sola emenda prostant. Nec poteram eorum querelas prorsus improbare; quanquam in illorum numero non sum, quibus omnia nova sordent, nec quidquam probatur, nisi quod, ut ille ait, *Libitina sacravit*. Noram scilicet, ex lectione operum summi illius Hollandiæ suæ ornamentum, eorumque collatione cum scriptis Recentiorum, quæ in manus meas incidere, quæcumque tandem sint, ea in illis inveniri, quibus potiora in aliis nulla occurrunt; sive eruditionem philologicam, sive sublimiorem

rerum divinarum cognitionem, sive vitiorum sæculi, quo vixit, descriptionem neque fucatam, neque scribentis vitio exaggeratam, sive denique singularem amœnitatem ac libertatem ingenii, cum insigni probitate morum conjunctam, spectes. Passim videre licet † Philologos, qui quamvis cæteros homines, more ludimagistrorum sollemni, despiciant, nihil præter verba et consuetudines priscas Græcorum et Romanorum norunt, atque in cæteris fere desipiunt; nec unquam Grammaticorum claustris egredi conantur, quin cordationibus omnibus ludibrium debeant. Nec desunt Theologi, qui, Scholæ tricis innutriti, suis distinctiunculis et syntagmatibus omnia metiuntur, nec sacrarum Literarum volumina, aut antiquiorum Christianorum lucubrationes ex ipsis archetypis linguis, ut par est, interpretari possunt. Paucissimi humaniorum et sanctorum Literarum felicissimum illud ac fœcundissimum elegantissimorum partuum conjugium intra pectus suum celebrarunt. At plures profecto non sunt, inter eos qui nomen suum literarum studiis dederunt, qui ausint sæculi sui vitiis manum medicam afferre, nisi quatenus prodest; laudare ceteroquin, aut certe dissimulare turpissima quæque parati, si modo ex adulatione ac dissimulatione sua lucellum aliquod ad se redire posse sperent. Nihil in eorum scriptis invenias, quod quidem ad ipsorum tempora pertineat, quod aut parasitica ingenia, potius quam faceta, aut malignam quamdam tetricitatem, carpendique meliores, sed minus potentes, insanam libidinem non redoleat. Ibi demum suam *παρρησίαν* ostentant, cum atram bilem in infirmiores effundunt, aut invidiose viros bonos traducunt; et pro ingenuo risu Sardoniam rictûs diductionem, ac male dissimulatam invidentiam produnt. Quibus omnibus vitiis contrarias virtutes in Erasmi nostri scriptis elucere, si paucis ostendero, nemo erit, qui ea multo digniora esse, quæ iterum recuderentur, quam innumerabilia alia, quibus fervent hodie præla, non fateatur.

Si quis varia Erasmi opera ad Philologiam spectantia, qualia multa primo volumine continentur, et præsertim

† He had in view some Professors, of his own times, with whom he had altercations.



quidem Adagiorum immensam collectionem, qua secundum constat, paullo studiosius legerit, profecto mirabitur multijugem omnium Scriptorum, cum Sacrorum ac ecclesiasticorum, tum etiam profanorum lectionem. Proverbia enim sua vir maximus non ex aliorum lacunis, aut ex paucis quibusdam voluminibus corrasit; sed omnes, qui eo ævo exstant, Scriptores, ejus collectionis causa, pervolvit. Quod quanti fuerit laboris, ii demum intelligent, qui illius ævi, quo primum typographia florere cœpit, editiones vitiosissimas aliquando consuluerint, animadverterintque multa ex manuscriptis codicibus ab Erasmo fuisse deprompta; et sciverint ea tempestate literarum studiosos, magnis illis subsidiis, quibus nunc cincti sumus, prorsus caruisse; neque enim ulla erant Lexica, nisi inepta et jejuna, vitis que scatentia; aut editiones ullæ antiquorum librorum accuratioribus indicibus instructæ; aut interpretes Critici Veterum, perpauca exceptis, nisi prorsus barbari aut inepti. Attamen in tanta bonarum editionum penuria, ne jam domesticas angustias memorem, quid non evoluit Erasmus? Ex quibus Scriptoribus quæ ad rem suam faciebant non excerpserit, et, quod caput est rei, quid non feliciter, aut certe ingeniose interpretatus est, ut etiam errantem mirari possis? Sed et per universa ejus scripta, maximam totius antiquitatis Græcæ et Romanæ scientiam, et quæ majorem nullus eo tempore consequutus est, effulgere, nemo negaverit, nisi qui ea non legerit.

Neque hic quisquam nobis objiciat, virum summum non tantum ab Henrico Stephano, et Paulo Leopardo, hominibus longe doctissimis, et Græcæ præsertim linguæ peritissimis, sed et a nobis tanto inferioribus, aliisque, in errore aliquoties deprehensum; quod nec in notulis dissimulavimus, præsertim in Adagiorum opus, inque nonnullas e Græcis Scriptoribus translationes. Nam quamvis vadis navim illidentem, in amplissimo omnigenarum literarum Oceano tantum virum ad feliciorum cursum interdum revocaverimus; non ideo ingenio ac eruditioni ejus ulla ratione detractum volumus. Sæpe erravit, pravis malarum editionum lectionibus deceptus; interdum etiam dormitavit, quod fas esse in tam multiplici scriptione nemo inficias iverit, præter homines pigros, qui cum ipsi nihil præsent, leves eruditorum nævos maligne observant, ut inde sibi gloriolam apud sui

similes quærant. A quo vitio semper longissime nos abfuisse, cum nobis conscii simus, non dubitavimus de delictis Erasmi Lectores monere, ne minus eruditi, tanti viri auctoritate, transversim abducerentur; alioqui ceteris tantorum laborum partibus meritam laudem qui libentius tribuat, quam nos, neminem vivere putamus. Eos demum patiemur de Philologica Erasmi eruditione tenuiter sentire, qui pluribus ac majoribus ingenii doctrinæque monumentis sæculum suum illustrarint; quod interea dum fecerint, taceant oportet, nisi velint apud omnes eruditos bonosque viros male audire.

Non sum nescius multos, cum felicissimam inventionem, delectumque rerum, ac pondus rationum se ei detrudere non posse viderent, in ejus Latinitatem esse invecos; quam ad instar styli, qui Augusti ævo obtinebat, formatam negarunt. Sed nec ille unquam professus est se illius sæculi sermonem per omnia imitari; neque sane potuisset, nisi voluisset de innumeris magni momenti rebus tacere, quæ Ciceroniano stylo commode exprimi nequeant; quod ipse testatur Ep. 15. L. xx. Verum ut unicuique suum est ingenium, sic et suus stylus sit necesse est, quem fingere ad alienam mentem, id demum est, nulla ratione staturæ habita, aliena veste velle uti, quod stultissimum esset. Coacta illa imitatio non exiguo est impedimento res dignas dictu, potius quam verba Latina, quærenti; paritque etiam frigidum, languentemque et lacinosum stylum; cum suum ingenium sequenti et rerum studioso, neque desit argumentum utile, neque commoda oratio, qua id vestiatur, quæ et multo gratior et virilior est. Quod experiaris licet, si Erasmi nostri scripta cum Longolii, Bembi, aut Sadoleti lucubrationibus contendas. Mihi certe somnus obrepat, dum has lego; iis vero mirum in modum excitor atque afficior. Sed de his legendus nostri festivissimus Dialogus, quem *Ciceronianum* inscripsit.

Potuit ergo Erasmus inter primarios sæculi sui Philologos honoratum locum obtinere, si eorum tantum disciplinas attigisset; sed sublimius ejus erat atque erectius ingenium, quam ut in inferioribus illis artibus consenesceret. Itaque sese ad Theologiam contulit, ad cujus tamen cognitionem sibi comparandam Linguarum, humaniorumque Literarum

peritia felicissime usus est. Ejus ætate princeps illa Disciplinarum, omni fere aliarum ornatu exuta, colebatur, et cum styli barbarie conjuncta; præterea in ea erat ineptia atque inscitia ratiocinationum acutioribus prorsus intolerabilis. Cum eam universam niti oporteat aut Sacrarum Literarum auctoritate, aut antiquiorum Christianorum testimoniis; nec Græci nec Latini Patres, imo ne utriusque quidem Testamenti tabulæ, ex Latina vulgata Interpretatione, intelligebantur. Ad eam ergo barbariem profligandam, discutendasque tenebras, Cimmeriis obscuriores, cum alii viri docti, tum etiam Erasmus noster, elegantiorum Literarum studia, maximo successu, adhibuerunt; nec quidquam profecto ei deerat, ad Scripturam Sacram accurate intelligendam, præter Linguæ Hebræicæ notitiam, quam dumtaxat delibaverat. Cæterum Scholasticorum, superiorum proxime ætatum Interpretum ac Theologorum pertæsus, et ipsos fontes adiit, et rivos antiquiorum sæculorum, propius a fontibus derivatos, propemodum exhaustit. Quem enim Scriptorem Ecclesiasticum, qui eo quidem tempore exstaret, non excussit? Quem, data occasione, non laudavit? Imo vero, cum nullæ quorundam essent editiones, quæ ferri possent, novas incredibili labore in suum et aliorum usum adornare aggressus est; et præsertim quidem Hieronymi et Augustini lucubrationes immensa mendorum copia expurgavit, spurias a genuinis Critico acumine discriminavit, et nonnullas etiam a capite ad calcem interpretatus est. Ad hæc, quasi colophon, translatio Novi Testamenti, atque Adnotationes in omnes ejus libros accessere. De hisce et multis aliis omnis generis Scriptoribus accuratius ab eo editis, consulendus Epistolarum ejus Liber, ex quo quantis vigiliis ac sudoribus hæc omnia ei constiterint liquebit. Vix credet, qui eum evolvat, viri unius vitam atque industriam potuisse tot ac tantis laboribus sufficere.

Dum autem Erasmus ex ipsis fontibus, aut limpidioribus, ut existimabat, rivis, Theologiam Christianam hauriret, eos minime imitatus est, qui id quod cupiunt in iis quærent, eaque quæ ipsorum indoli consentanea sunt ex iis referunt. Alii naturâ contemplationum arduarum, rixarumque, quæ ex iis nasci solent, amantes, iis lectis de solis mysteriis loquuntur; quæ non tantum defendere acerrime parati sunt,

sed et subtilius interpretantur, interpretationesque suas minus probantes vehementissime insectantur; unde jurgia oriuntur, quæ postea calamitates innumeras pariunt. Alii non tam Religionis ipsius, quam vestis, qua indui solet, studiosi, in antiquis monumentis nihil præter rituum ac ceremoniarum vestigia indagant, atque in sua illa investigatione nihil inveniunt præter ea quæ ad externam Religionis speciem pertinent, et quorum necessitatem præter modum urgent, ejusque non ita observantes facilius quam par est proscribunt. Utrique autem, et hi et illi, sanctimonix Christianæ, quæ in timore Dei et probitate morum sita est, negligentiores sunt, vitiisque haud illibenter ignoscunt; dum interne cito hallucinationes ingenii humani, rituumque neglectum, in hominibus ceteroqui bonis, persequuntur. Erasmus vero noster, minime neglectis mysteriis, ritibusque, quibus aut decentior fit religio, aut humana imbecillitas adjuvatur, reverentiam Numinis, sanctissimorumque ejus præceptorum observationem, ex recta mysteriorum, cærimoniarumque interpretatione necessario nascentes, neque a Deo ulli usquam remissas, potissimum exigebat; quod ex quinto Operum ejus Volumine, sequentibusque intelligere est. Hanc Religionis Christianæ partem, ejus ævo ferme conculcatam, et Scripturæ Sacræ et Veterum testimoniis ita illustravit, ac confirmavit, ut inter potissimos ejus instauratores merito habeatur. Id certe ejus fuit acumen, eaque animi probitas, ut feliciter ubique secernat eas opiniones, eaque instituta, quæ a malis æque ac bonis defendi atque observari possunt, ab ea fide iisque moribus, quæ in solis bonis inveniuntur, quippe qui norat eam demum esse veram Religionem, qua homines non acutiores, aut externa specie spectabiliores, sed Dei et proximi amantiore fiunt; nec eum bonum haberi posse, qui nihil facit quod ab improbi animi hominibus æque fieri nequeat. Qui Theologica ejus Opera paullo studiosius evolvant, nihil homini a nobis tribui, quod non ex merito sit tribuendum intelligent.

Hanc cum veræ Theologiæ imaginem animo concepisset, erudito ac bono nemini improbandam, tantum thesaurum, ut solus eo frueretur, nequaquam infodit; sed omnibus, qui eo uti vellent, communem esse oportere existimavit. Itaque scriptis eum spargere per universam Europam conatus est;

qua de causa, quicquid fuit bonorum virorum summas ei gratias habuerunt, ut operum ejus celerrima venditio et frequens ubique lectio satis ostenderunt. Verum cum non tam bene cum rebus humanis agatur, ut probi atque eruditi ullo modo æquent improborum ac imperitorum numerum, in se vir summus et veræ virtutis studiosissimus innumeros malos atque indoctos concitavit. Quamobrem vitia sæculi sui describere necesse habuit, et cum hominibus pepercerit, nisi editis voluminibus ab iis lacessitus improbe fuisset, Ecclesiasticorum quorundam, quos potissimum infestos habuit, nævos ac deliria ita pinxit, ut etiamnum hodie sine indignatione aut risu eorum tabulas, in ejus scriptis, spectare nequeamus. Dum autem omnis sortis homines in Theologicis Operibus, officium ex Sacris Literis docet, ostendit satis aperte ea tempestate malos mores, una cum maxima bonarum rerum imperitia, usque adeo grassatos fuisse, ut nescias indoctioresne essent Christiani, an improbiores. In *Colloquiis* vero, in quibus Juventutem ad virtutem et Literarum amorem accendere conatur, quam graphice passim pingit suæ ætatis vitia? Quam aperte nos docet nihil esse cur de hoc nostro tempore multum queramus, si id cum temporibus quibus vixit conferamus? Non exscribam quæ præstat in ejus operibus legi, quam in hac brevi Præfatione, ne forte similia huic nostræ ætati nimium irritabili exprobrare velle videar; sed dicam quod nemo negabit, qui rem paullo penitius intropexerit, multum toti Europæ profuisse summi viri castigationes, et majorem fructum edituras fuisse, si omnes Eruditi eum essent ubique imitati. Tandem puduisset eos quorum vitia carpit, nec tot æmulos reliquissent, si per universam Europam, ab ea tempestate, non desiissent ii, qui stylo talia confodere poterant, suo ingenio suaque eruditione uti, ad omnes Christianos ad sanioiorem mentem revocandos. At multi ab illis temporibus, exuto omni Veritatis ac Virtutis amore, non tam hominibus, quod ipsum turpissimum fuisset, quam vitiis, quod extremæ est nequitæ, adulati sunt; ut honores ac præmia, ejusmodi flagitio proposita consequerentur. Nisi Erasmi et aliorum aliquot ad nos pervenissent fidæ eorum temporum descriptiones, eos forte laudaremus, quorum memoriam pii omnes sibi nunc jure putant exsecrandam. Plura hanc in rem non addo, ne odiis oleum af-

fundere videar, hominesque iis, quos Erasmus olim castigavit, minime meliores in ejus scripta incendam. Jam satis est, imo vero plus satis rixarum et concertationum, quos si silentio minuere nequeamus, certe intempestivis querelis non exacerbabimus.

At prætermittere non possum mihi semper, ut et omnibus elegantioribus hominibus, admirationi fuisse amœnitatem summam ingenii, et facetissima dicta, quæ subinde in Erasmi lucubrationibus emicant, et Lectorum animos innocua voluptate demulcent. Non possum tacere mirabilem mitissimæ indolis *παρρησίαν*, qua vitia et privatorum, et summorum potestatum, cum in Ecclesiastica, tum in Civili Republica, sine mordaci acerbitate, exagitavit. Agnoscas ubique optimi utriusque illius Reipublicæ civis ingenium pacatum; qui sine seditione ac discidio quod in utraque vituperari poterat comiter atque humane emendare conatus est. Nimii labores, et multijugis lectio in plerisque ita omnem hilaritatem animi extinguunt, ut ex Literarum studiis eruditionem quidem, sed eam tetricam ac morosam, sibi comparant, ostendantque se *ringeres*<sup>2</sup>, quam ridere, multo esse paratiores; quod et ipsos et literas, quas profitentur, apud homines liberaliores infamat. Accurata cognitio vitiorum et delictorum humani generis minus malos sæpe reddit inhumanos et clamorosos; nequiores vero ita afficit, ut nolint inter insanos sapientes videri, malintque plures cum suo emolumento imitari, quam Christiana castigandi libertate offendere. At Erasmus noster ita ridet, ingenuisque facetiis sic abundat, quasi nihil aliud habuisset quod ageret. Medicinam interea prolapsis moribus tam libere facit, quam si ei libertati eadem tributa fuisset merces, quam adultores ab iis, quorum vitiis blandiuntur, ferre videmus; tantaque humanitate omnia dicta sua condit, ut non iratum, sed emendanduntaxat studiosum fuisse facile intelligas. Quæ cum reposito, hic exclamare libet :

Huic Pudor, et Justitiæ soror  
Incorrupta Fides, nudaque Veritas  
Quando ullum invenient parem?

<sup>2</sup> He should rather have said *ringi*.

Quod cum vix sperari possit, pro altero Erasmo, quem superiores, atque hæc nostra ætas adhuc nobis debent, Rotodamensem illum in Bibliothecis instructoribus ferme sepultum, in lucem revocandum censuimus, ut ridendo verum dicentem, et jam supra invidiam positum frequentius audiat sæculum fastidiosum; a quo Erasmi imitator fortasse non audiretur, licet vel magistrum ingenio, candore, et eruditione, quod fieri nequit, superaret.

Non dissimulandum tamen nobis est, Erasmum eandore, urbanitate, et libertate, licet intra modestiæ limites coercitis, duo hominum genera vehementer offendisse. Alii quidem volebant omnia dissimulari, et vitia placitaque nonnullorum, quæ defendi non poterant, silentio involvi; quasi ne digitulo quidem attingi possent homines male sibi conscii, et pessime de omnibus meriti, sine summo Reipublicæ Christianæ periculo. Alii vero, quibus nihil nisi extremum placebat, optassent ab Erasmo cum iis, quos emendare frustra conatus erat, omnia pacis et Societatis Ecclesiasticæ vincula prorsus abrumpi. Voluit ille inter utrosque medium se gerere, nec bella plusquam civilia, quibus res Christiana scindebatur, probare aut alere poterat; quamvis vehementer optaret ea quæ merito carpebantur, ab iis, qui summæ rerum præerant, emendari. Cupiebat placidis consiliis et sine tumultu, potius quam violenta omnium rerum, etiam recte, ut ipsi videbatur, positarum convulsione, discordias componi. Propterea, neque enim quod verum est diffitebor, acerrimorum utriusque partis hominum iram in se movit.

Ab utrisque asperrimis dictis ac scriptis laceratus est, quasi nullo religionis studio duceretur, quasi dicacitatis nimix, atque intolerandæ audaciæ homo traductus. Ex ejus Apologiis Nono Tomo comprehensis, innumerisq ue literis res manifesta est; nec sunt illa ulcera a nobis refricanda. Satis norunt perspicaciores rem illi fuisse cum hominibus, qui nec flebiliter monentem, nec ridentem audituri erant; sed ex quavis ratione scribendi, occasionem ejus traducendi avidè captaturi.

Non dicam Erasmum mihi semper videri de omnibus recte judicasse; hominem enim eum puto fuisse, non Deum. Non aggrediar etiam defendere quicquid fecit, nec si ejus ætate vixissem, atque is fuissem, qui nunc sum, consilia ejus per

omnia sequutus essem. Sunt et mihi graves rationes, quas lectoris scire nihil interest, ob quas multa prætermitto singularia, quæ non speciose dumtaxat, sed et vere dici possent. Verum contendam æquorum hominum esse perpendere in quam difficilia *VITÆ* summus incidisset tempora. Iis enim, non rationibus tantum et argumentis, sed affectibus etiam maximis, imperiosis edictis, sævis proscriptionibus, minis ac vi res gerebatur; ita ut hostis loco haberetur a multitudine concitata, quisquis non his aut illis partibus, sed communi omnium utilitati studebat. Mirum ergo esse nemini potest, si postquam omnia dixisset, quæ dici posse putabat, de iis, quæ emendatione egebant, tandem tacuerit; et cum laceraretur a nonnullis, qui ei omnia eversuri videbantur, iis infensor sub vitæ finem fuerit. Dignus profecto erat, propter maxima in rempublicam literariam Christianamque merita, qui, si non audiretur, at certe suis ipsius consiliis permitteretur, nec invitus in partes traheretur, in quibus multa ei displicebant. Honorarium otium fuisset ei in senectute ab omnibus, quasi jam merito, ac rude donando, concedendum; cum præsertim præmia iis, qui tumultuum duces erant, proposita numquam ambiverit; nec ullum lucrum ex rixis umquam sit consequutus. Sane et dum vixit et postquam vitam hanc mortalem meliore mutavit, cum jam dissidentium Christianorum partes sua sibi jura ac dogmata seorsim constituissent, ab æquissimis quibusque in cælum laudibus certatim sublatus est; quamvis nemo fortasse eorum omnia placita ejus ac consilia probaret. Amplissimus præsertim Magistratus Roterodamensis, qui civi suo statuam æneam, in celeberrimo Urbis suæ foro, posuit, numquam satis laudari potest, quod meritis tanti viri quidquid in eo minus probabat condonarit. Eam statuam ære expressam et ad vivum delineatam Lectoris curiosi oculis, ut eodem loco conspicitur, hic subjicimus, simul cum inscriptionibus, quæ in Erasmi honorem conscriptæ fuerunt, et hic una additæ visuntur; nec non effigiem ejus, manu dexterrimi Holbenii delineatam, et accuratissime sculptam paginâ primâ hujus Præfationis exhibemus. Versiculi, qui ante ædes, in quibus ille natus est, tales fuerunt et sunt, &c.

Inscriptiones quas pagina sequenti habes, sunt illæ, quæ in basi statuæ reperiuntur, &c.



Novi qui similia dudum expectent a vicinæ urbis magistratu, in honorem alterius Hollandiæ ocelli. Hugonem Grotium a me designari satis omnes intelligunt, cui postquam posita erit statua, non deerit qui reipublicæ literariæ nomine gratias civibus ejus agat. Verum hæc nihil ad Erasmum, in cujus operibus recudendis quid sit a nobis præstitum, summatim et paucis hic indicabimus. Sequuti igitur sumus Editionem Frobenianam anni 1540. neque quidquam detraximus, aut in voluminum ordine novavimus, quem observandum censuerat ipse Erasmus. Cum difficile esset nancisci exemplar non mutilum aut partim deletum, qualia in plerisque Bibliothecis conspiciuntur, operam dedimus ut integrum inveniremus, idque fideliter exprimeremus. Sed primùm exemplar recensuimus, multaque menda Typothetarum, inter legendum sustulimus, et pravam quamdam scribendi rationem, quæ ea tempestate obtinebat, emendavimus, ut cum *Vergilius* pro *Virgilius* scribebant, *ædere* pro *edere*, et talia. Non dicam innumera, quæ per compendiaras literarum notas exprimi solebant, plenis vocibus ubique fuisse excusa; sed monebo discrimen characterum, ut loca citata distinguantur a verbis Erasmi, a nobis fuisse ubique adhibitum, ut ratio hodierna artis Typographicæ exigebat. Per totum præterea opus notulas infimæ oræ adjecimus, quæ forte injucundæ lectoribus non erunt. In hæc si quid vitii irreperit, nobis absentibus, id emendatum iri, sine malignitate, ab æquis hominibus speramus.

Sciat etiam Lector oportet, nos in illis notis minime aggressos esse Erasmum interpretari, qui interpretatione non indiget; sed tantum quædam monere, quæ non ingrata, nec inutilia legentibus fore putabamus. Illustramus interdum Erasmum, citatis accuratius locis, ad quæ respicit, aut aliis additis; interdum quod habet confirmamus, aut Lectorem amandamus ad eos, qui rem accuratius aut feliciter tractarunt; interdum denique ostendimus eum esse hallucinatum, sed sine ulla acerbitate; quæ nulla in nobis, qui summum virum summopere miramur, esse potuit. Maximos enim viros errare posse arbitramur, ita tamen ut sat multa supersint, quæ jure in iis suspiciamus.

Statueramus hic admonere Lectorem de iis, quæ in singulis voluminibus essent etiam a nobis præstita: sed quia

nondum omnia edita sunt, eaque nancisci possemus, inter excudendum, quæ nunc nobis sunt ignota, rem ad frontem uniuscujusque voluminis distulimus; quam adire Lectores poterunt, si iis videatur.

In primo volumine, præter vitam Erasmi a Beato Rheno conscriptam, addidimus eam, quam ediderat Petrus Scriverius, ante Epistolas ineditas, deinde præfixam Epistolarum Operi in Editione Londinensi. Sed prætermittenda non censuimus judicia selectiora virorum doctorum de Erasmo, quæ huic Epistolæ subjecta videbis. Quin etiam Epitaphia multo plurium addidimus, seorsim duntaxat antea edita, et rariora facta. Præter Notulas nostras Libris ipsius Erasmi subjectas, potuissemus multa adnotare ad Libros e priscis Scriptoribus conversos, ut exiguo specimine ad Libanii Declamatiunculas ostendimus T. i. p. 549. &c. Sed nihil opus erat, cum pleræque illæ Erasmi versiones sint cum ipsius Archetypis editæ, interpolatæ, aut castigatæ in virorum Doctorum Notis, quod vel ex Luciani Editione Amstelodamensi satis notum est. Præterea id non agebamus, ut ostenderemus tanti viri versionum nævos, cui potius gratias agere nos par est, quam litem, propter levia delicta, intendere. Ad *Colloquia* quod attinet, multo uberiores iis additæ sunt Notæ, rejectis tamen atque inductis insulsis, falsis, puerilibus, aut inutilibus multis adsumptis, quibus a nescio quo consarcinate dehonestatus erat Erasmus. Libro de *Pronunciatione* præfiximus monitum necessarium ex Ger. Joanne Vossio. —

*Encomia in laudem Erasmi ab Variis effusa.*

Then follows;

*Carolo Quinto Beatus Rhenanus, &c.*

This is a Dedication of the Basil Edition of the Works of Erasmus, and contains a summary account of his Life.

*Epistola ad Goclenium.*

Of this Epistle we have given an account in the Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 338. To it is subjoined:

*Compendium Vitæ Erasmi.*

It is short, and drawn up by himself.

*Epistola ad Servatium.*

This shall be inserted in the Appendix.

*Erasmi Vita per Beatum Rhenanum.*

This is a Preface to Origen's Works, which had been prepared for the press by Erasmus. It contains a short account of Erasmus, particularly of the last year of his life, and of his death.

*Testamentum extremum Erasmi.*

See the Appendix.

*Epitaphium Erasmi Basile.e.*

Then follows:

*Bonif. Amerbachius Joanni Paungartnero.*

In this Epistle, written a year after the death of Erasmus, Amerbachius informs this gentleman, that he had obeyed his orders, and endeavoured to collect and transmit to him all the works of Erasmus; but that he could not procure copies of several of those Tracts. He then expatiates upon the great and good qualities of his deceased friend, and detests those libellers who calumniated him both before and after his death.

*Erasmus Johanni Botzemo Abstemio.*

This excellent Letter contains a Catalogue of the works of Erasmus. See Appendix.

*Hectori Boëtio.*

With this Letter to Boëtius, Erasmus sends a Catalogue of his works.

*Erasmi mors Epitaphiis virorum doctorum defleta.*

In this collection there is a letter of Germanus Brixius in praise of his deceased friend; and another of Paulus Volzcius, on the same occasion.

Amongst the *Epitaphia*, there is one of Doletus, and another of J. C. Scaliger, who had both written against Erasmus. They were both to be commended for speaking handsomely of Erasmus after his death. Scaliger's verses

on this occasion are not good for much; and those of Doletus are good for nothing. There is also an Epitaph made by John Helyar; concerning whom, see Wood, vol. i. c. 48.

To this collection let us add an epitaph by an <sup>t</sup> unknown poet, which is so superlatively bad, that it deserves on that account to be transcribed:

Hic jacet Erasmus, qui quondam bonus erat mus:  
Rodere qui solitus, roditur a vermibus.

<sup>u</sup> The Author being asked why he had made the first syllable of *vermibus* short, answered that he did it to make amends for having in the preceding verse made the first of *bonus* long.

*De Copia Verborum ac Rerum, Libri duo.*

This treatise was composed for the use of young students, and is dedicated to Colet, A. 1512. It abounds with learned remarks, and deserves to be carefully perused by those who desire to write or to understand the Latin language. This book was also printed by Froben, A. 1516. with other small tracts.

C. 79.

Venationum, cujusmodi exstat Hadriani Cardinalis: tametsi docti negant hoc carmen illius esse.

There is an edition, in small octavo, of the works of this Cardinal, containing his Treatise *De Sermone Latino*, and the above mentioned poem, called *Venatio*, and another, in praise of that execrable pontif, Julius II.

C. 80. 81.

He pronounces the *Epistles* of *Phalaris* to be spurious: but was mistaken in entertaining a suspicion of the *Characters* of *Theophrastus*.

*Theodori Gaza Grammaticæ Institutiones, per Erasmum in Latinam linguam conversæ.*

Dedicated to Joannes Cæsarius Juliensis, A. 1518.

<sup>t</sup> The Author of the *Critique de Marsollier* says that it was Philip Labbe, p. 180. See Burigni, t. ii. p. 428, 429.

<sup>u</sup> Menagian. ii. 399.

*Gulielmi Lili de octo orationis partium constructione libellus, ab Erasmo emendatus.*

To this is prefixed an Epistle of Colet to Lily, and of Erasmus to the Reader, A. 1515.

*Luciani Dialogi aliquot, Erasmo interprete.*

Dedicated to Warham, A. 1512.

*Luciani Toxaris.*

Dedicated to Fox, Bishop of Winchester, A. 1506.

*Luciani Alexander.*

Dedicated *Renato Episcopo Carnutensi*, A. 1505.

*Luciani Gallus.*

Dedicated to Ursewick, A. 1503.

*Luciani Timon.*

Dedicated to Thomas Ruthal, afterwards Bishop of Durham, A. 1504.

*Luciani Tyrannicida, et declamatio Lucianicæ respondens.*

Dedicated to Richard Whitford, A. 1506.

*Luciani Libellus, de mercede conductis.*

Dedicated *Joanni Paludano, Rhetori Lovaniensis Academicæ.*

*Luciani Dialogi aliquot.*

Dedicated to Hieronymus Buslidianus, A. 1506.

*Luciani convivium.*

Dedicated to Joannes Euty chius, A. 1517.

*De conscribendis Epistolis.*

Dedicated to Nicolaus Beraldus, A. 1522.

Erasmus was very fit to give instructions upon this subject, as his own ingenious and useful letters testify.

C. 347.

He supposes the Epistle of Cicero to Octavius to be genuine, which is spurious.

## C. 364.

He derides the barbarous custom of addressing ourselves to *one*, in the *plural* number, and calling him *vos*, and *vestra Dominatio*, or *vestræ Dominationes*, &c.

## C. 365.

He doubts, but without a just cause, whether some of Pliny's Epistles be genuine.

## C. 414.

This chapter contains his Declamation in favour of Matrimony. David Clapham translated *The praise of Matrimony*, written by Agrippa, and Erasmus. *Wood*, vol. i. c. 79.

## C. 448.

*Exemplum de Vita Aulica.*

All this is repeated in one of his Letters, Ep. 510. c. 1887.

*De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis.*

Dedicated to the Duke of Cleves, A. 1529.

Here are many good remarks concerning the education of children, and against the cruelty of some tutors and school-masters.

In the Dedication he commends Conradus Heresbachius, Preceptor to the Duke of Cleves.

“Heresbachius is known in the learned world by many works which do him honour; and had been long intimately acquainted with Erasmus. Cardinal Passionei hath communicated to me a letter of Erasmus relating to Heresbachius, which hath not been printed, and which is addressed to Ennius the Nuncio, and dated A. 1523. In it he recommends to him Heresbachius, who at that time was Greek Professor at Friburg,” &c. *Burigni, Vie d'Erasmus*, t. ii. p. 304.

## C. 501.

He says of the French language:

Lingua barbara et abnormis, quæ aliud scribit quam sonat, quæque suos habet stridores, et voces vix humanas.

Could he think the French as rough as the Dutch language?

## C. 504.

Gallis literatoribus, secundum Scotos nihil est plagosius. Hi moniti, respondere solent, eam nationem, quemadmodum de Phrygia dictum est, non nisi plagis emendari.

*De ratione studii.*

Dedicated to Petrus Viterius.

This tract contains directions for teaching and learning Latin and Greek, and for the instructing of youth.

*Declamatio in laudem Artis Medicæ.*

Dedicated to Henr. Afinius Lyranus, A. 1518.

*Libanii Declamationes, Erasmo Interprete.*

Dedicated to Nic. Ruterius, Bishop of Arras, A. 1503.

Le Clerc hath censured some passages of this translation, in his notes.

*Parabolæ, sive Similia.*

Dedicated to Petrus Ægidius, A. 1514.

He says in the Dedication :

Non alienum fuerit hunc libellum Adagiis, aut, si mavis, Copiæ Commentariis, ceu coronidem adjungere, quod cum illis plurimum habeat affinitatis, et ad hanc vel in primis faciat.

## C. 599.

Sicut pyramis, quam Rhodope meretricula Æsopi conserva construxit pecunia corporis quæstu collecta, majori miraculo famæque fuit quam cæteræ regum pyramides: ita vehementius miramur, si quid recte faciunt, a quibus tale nihil exspectabatur; veluti si quis Hollandum videat peritum equitem, aut frugalem Anglum, aut Theologum eloquentem.

*Colloquia familiaria.*

Dedicated to Joan. Erasmus Frobenius, A. 1524.

Of these Colloquies I have <sup>w</sup> already given some account.

<sup>w</sup> Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 270.

I shall not make any extracts from them, since, if I were to collect all the passages which please me, I should transcribe too great a part of the book.

One William Burton translated into English certain Dialogues of Erasmus. Lond. qu. in an English character. The first Dialogue is of Fish-eating. *Wood*, i. c. 236.

C. 710.

*Colloq. Pseudochei et Philetymi.*

Vives says to Erasmus :

Miseret me tui, cui toties fuerit cum ejusmodi homine (Berckmanno) negotium, καθ' ἧ ὄμαι ἔγραψας \* mendacium †, in *Colloquiis*. Ep. 780.

Maittaire cites this epistle of Vives, and says :

Hoc Colloquium est Pseudochei et Philetymi (*it should be Philetymi*) in quo Erasmus Franciscum illum Berckmannum prævaricatorem, lucri turpis avidum, sub Pseudochei persona depingit. *Ann. Typ.* ii. 25.

C. 822. and 834.

In his description of beggarly Knights and pretended Nobles, who were mere robbers and ruffians, he certainly had Hutten and Eppendorf in view ; and mentions several things, exactly answering the character which he hath given us of them in some of his Epistles.

C. 856.

The Franciscans, says he, sometimes are made Popes ; and then,

Humiles illi pauperis Francisci filii porrigunt calceos suos summis orbis Monarchis osculandos.

In the same Dialogue he speaks with some contempt of St. Francis.

C. 862.

*Opulentia sordida.*

In this Dialogue, Erasmus describes with much humour the miserable and sordid frugality of some Italian (as it

\* It should be ἔγραψας, or ἔγραφες, or γέγραψας.

† Perhaps mendacem.



should seem) with whom he had lived, or starved, ten months. I fancy it was Andreas Asulanus. See Erasmus, t. ix. c. 1137.

## C. 866.

*Exsequiæ Seraphicæ.*

This Dialogue ridicules Albertus Pius (who was buried in the doublet of a Franciscan) as also the Monks of that order. He here tells a story of the Franciscans burying two young fellows alive, for some act of disobedience, and exposes their fraternity in such a manner, that it is no wonder if they hated him most cordially. He hath related the same story, in his letter to Grunnius, Ep. 442. c. 1831.

## C. 890.

*Conflictus Thaliæ et Barbariei.*

This is one of his juvenile works, and a slight performance.

## C. 894.

*Coronis Apologetica, &c.*

Erasmus here defends his Colloquies extremely well against his malicious censurers. It was a good contrivance, to deliver many of his freer sentiments in the way of Dialogue or Disputation, and by feigned persons. By using this method, he could afterwards plead for himself, that he had been obliged to keep up the decorum of conversation, and to make his interlocutors speak in character, and that it would, for example, have been ridiculous to put the sentiments of a Monk into the mouth of a Lutheran.

*Dialogus de Pronunciatione.*

Dedicated to Maximilian a Burgundia, A. 1528.

## C. 911.

*Ger. Joannes Vossius Aristarchi L. i. c. 28.*

Erasmus *qua occasione ad scribendum de Recta Pronunciatione fuerit impulsus, paucis cognitum arbitrator. Itaque visum hac de re adjicere quod in scheda quadam habeo, scripta olim manu Henrici Coracopetræi, viri egregie docti, doctis que perfamiliaris. Ea ita habet :*

“ *Audivi M. Rutgerum Rescium, Professorem linguæ Græcæ in Collegio Buslidiano, apud Lovanienses, meum piæ memoriæ præceptorem, narrantem se habitasse in Liliensi pædagogio, una cum Erasmo plus biennio, eo superius, se inferius cubiculum obtinente, Henricum autem Glareanum Parisiis Lovanium venisse, atque ab Erasmo in Collegium vocatum fuisse ad prandium; quo cum venisset, quid novi adferret interrogatum, dixisse (quod in itinere commentus erat, quod sciret Erasmus plus satis novarum rerum studiosum, ac mire credulum) quosdam in Græcia natos Lutetiam venisse, viros ad miraculum doctos; qui longe aliam Græci sermonis prononciationem usurparent, quam quæ vulgo in hisce partibus recepta esset. Eos, nempe, sonare pro B vita, BETA; pro E ita, ETA; pro ai æ, AI; pro oi i, OI; et sic in cæteris. Quo audito, Erasmus paulo post conscripsisse Dialogum de recta Latini Græcique sermonis prononciatione, ut videretur hujus rei ipse inventor, et obtulisse Petro Alostensi typographo imprimendum; qui cum, forte aliis occupatus, renueret, aut certe se tam cito excudere, quam ipse volebat, non posse diceret; misisse libellum Basileam ad Frobenium, a quo mox impressus in lucem prodiit. Verum Erasmus, cognita fraude, nunquam ea prononciandi ratione postea usum; nec amicis, quibuscum familiariter vivebat, ut eam observarent præcepisse. In ejus rei fidem exhibuit M. Rutgerus ipsius Erasmi manu scriptam, in gratiam Damiani a Goës Hispani, prononciationis formulam (cujus exemplar adhuc apud me est) in nullo diversam ab ea qua passim docti et indocti in hac lingua utuntur. Henricus Coracopetræus Cuccensis. Neomagi 1569. pridie Simonis et Judæ.”*

*Videri hæc queant (subjicit Vossius) alicui non tam adjutum, quam oppugnatum ire causam nostram; quippe qui statuamus optimo jure seculo nostro immutatam esse vulgarem Græcæ linguæ prononciationem. Verum cum Achillea sint pleraque omnia, quibus ab Erasmo atque aliis refellitur vulgaris isthæc loquendi ratio; neutiquam in animum inducere possum, quod Erasmus eam retinuerit, nec amicos ab ea deterruerit, id eo factum, quod editi libelli pœniteret; verum magis mihi verisimile fit, cum meliora videret probaretque, deteriora tamen sequutum; sive quia*

*a puero sic loqui adsuevisset; sive quod desperaret suo se exemplo alios ad imitationem provocare posse; sive quod loquendum putarit cum vulgo, sapiendum cum paucis, ut præcipit τῆς ἀληθείας Philosophus.*

Hactenus Vossius. *Monendi etiam sunt harum rerum studiosi (says le Clerc) ut, lecto Erasmi Dialogo, legant etiam Joan. Rodolphi Wetstenii Orationes pro Græca et genuina linguæ Græcæ pronuntiatione, quibus Erasmi sententiam oppugnavit, editas Basileæ anno 1686.*

Wetstein, in the above-mentioned book, after having related this story, adds:

En! nec ipse Erasmus suo Dialogo fidem habuit: quis ergo illam a nobis requireret? Eundem Græcum sonandi modum constanter retinuisse, cernere est e Colloquiis familiaribus, illo præsertim, quod *Echo* nomen præfert; ubi voci *eruditionis* respondit *Echo* ὄνοις; *Episcopi*, ἰεῖροι; *ariolari*, λάρροι; *astrologi*, λόγοι; *Grammatici*, εἰκῆ; *famelici*, λύκοι. Quæ omnia cum Græca pronuntiatione ad amussim conveniunt; et si scivisset erronea, sine dubio in editionibus posterioribus, ut corrigerentur, operam dedisset: sed nihil minus; non solum ipse priori rationi firmiter adhæsit, verum ut ab aliis suæ fidei creditis addisceretur, omni cura providit. *De ling. Græc. pronunc.* p. 115.

But though Erasmus might comply with common custom, yet he lays down nearly the same system in his note on *John* xiv. 26. which he had defended in his book *De Pronuntiatione*.

When Constantinople was taken by the Turks, in the middle of the fifteenth century, the learned Greeks, who fled to Italy, introduced both the study of the Greek tongue, and their own manner of pronouncing it.

But some critics, as Aldus Manutius, Erasmus, Cheke, &c. suspected that these Greeks had lost the true and original pronuntiation. They proposed a different way of reading Greek, and soon made many converts to their opinion.

J. R. Wetstein published a collection of Orationes, or Dissertations, against these critics, and in defence of the pronuntiation of the modern Greeks; in which he hath pleaded his cause so well, that he will at least lead a

candid examiner into a state of suspense, and make him pronounce a *Non liquet*.

The Greeks above mentioned sounded η, υ, ει, οι, and υι, like iota; αι like ε; the υ in αυ and ευ like the Latin v consonant, that is, a little like f, or φ. They also sounded ε like the v consonant; and γ before γ, κ, ξ, χ, like v.

They pronounced the ι, not broad, as we English do in *templi*; but softer, as we do in *templis*.

They pronounced, for example, the first seven lines in Homer, nearly thus:

Μινιν αἰδῆ Θεα Πιλλιαδῶ Αχιλλιος  
 Οφλομινιν, ἰ μιρὶ Αχχεῖς ἀλγε' εθηκε,  
 Πολλας δ' ἰθιμοφς ψιχας αἰδι προιαψεν  
 Ἰρωων, αφτοφς δ' ἔλορια τεφχε κινεσσιν  
 Ἰωνισι τε πασι' Διος δ' ετελειτο φοφλι·  
 Εξ ὀφ δι τα πρωτα διασιτιν ερισαντε  
 Ατριδισ τε αναξ ἀδρων, κῆ διος Αχιλλεφς.

Here it is evident that, upon this system, there is in the Greek language a perpetual *Iotacismus*, together with many useless vowels and diphthongs (useless as to pronunciation) which might as justly have brought an *action* of trespass against *Iota*, as *Sigma* once did against *Tau*.

Before Erasmus comes to treat of pronunciation, he makes many good remarks upon the office and the proper qualifications of school-masters, the education of youth, and the art of forming the letters of the alphabet, or of writing handsomely, an art in which he himself was no great proficient. He extolls the skill of Albert Durer in designing. He shows his genius throughout, in enlivening a learned, but a dry and subtle subject.

*Ciceronianus.*

Dedicated to Joannes Vlattenus, A. 1528.

Of this excellent Dialogue we have already spoken in the Life of Erasmus. Nosoponus, the Ciceronian, makes a ridiculous appearance in it, and his two friends banter him

with their ironical approbation, and gently dispute with him, designing to cure him, if they can, of his madness. Nosoponus at last, being a good man, and in other respects a sensible man, becomes almost a convert, and departs more than half cured.

In this treatise Erasmus hath pointed out some real faults in Cicero, both for style and sentiment, and laughs at his poetical works; which provoked the Ciceronians beyond measure.

He characterizes, or criticizes, many authors both antient and modern, as, Varro, Cæsar, Sallust, Seneca, Val. Maximus, Suetonius, Livy, Quintilian, Q. Curtius, the Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores, Corn. Nepos, Amm. Marcellinus, Velleius Paternulus, the two Plinies, the Latin poets, A. Gellius, Macrobius, Symmachus, Apuleius, Boëthius, Ausonius, Lactantius, Cyprian, Hilary, Sulpicius Severus, Tertullian, Jerom, Augustin, Paulinus, Ambrose, Gregory I. Leo I. Bernard, Bonaventura, Thomas Aquinas, Petrarch, Blondus, Boccace, Tortellius, Philelphus, Leonardus Aretinus, Poggius, Valla, Herm. Barbarus, J. Picus Mirandulanus, Politian, Janus Lascaris, Codrus Urceus, Georg. Trapezontius, Thèod. Gaza, Georg. Merula, Marullus, M. Musurus, Pomponius Lætus, Platina, Beroaldus, Beroaldus Junior, Baptista Pius, Barth. Scala, Petrus Crinitus, Leonicensus, Leonicus, Domitius Calderinus, Scipio Carteromachus, Hieron Donatus, Ant. Sabellicus, Paulus Æmilius, Baptista Egnatius, Paulus Bombasius, Alciat, Hier. Alexander, Albertus Pius, Cælius Rhodiginus, Cælius Calcagninus, R. Gaguinus, Badius, Budæus, J. Faber Stapulensis, Joannes Pinus, Beraldus, Deloinus, Laz. Bayfius, Claud. Cantuuncula, Scepperus, Ruellius, Mosellanus, Brixius, Grocin, Linacer, Pace, More, Latimer, Pole, Saxo Grammaticus, Adr. Barlandus, Des. Erasmus, Guil. Gaudanus, Ægidius, Dorpius, Ceratinus, Rod. Agricola, Hayo Hermannus, Alex. Hegius, Hermannus Buschius, Goclenius, Reuchlin, Wimphelingus, Melancthon, Hutten, Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, Zasius, Bruno Amerbachius, Glareanus, Ursinus Velius, Jac. Piso, Andr. Critius, Anton. Nebrissensis, Stunica, Sanctius, Vives, Longolius, Sadolet, Bembus, Bapt. Cassellius,

Pontanus, Sannazarius, Paul. Cortesius, Petrus Phædrus, Camillus.

C. 983.

He tells a good story how the Ciceronians were imposed upon by some wits of that time :

Nec enim semel lusum hunc vidimus. Fragmentum e Cicerone decerptum, addito Germani cujuspiam titulo, quam deridebant, quoties barbarum inclamabant, qui sibi valde Ciceroniani videbantur ! Rursus aliquid pridie confictum proferebatur in medium, addebatur Ciceronis nomen, et fingebatur exemplar repertum in bibliotheca pervetusta : quam exosculabantur, quam adorabant divinam illam et inimitabilem Ciceronis phrasim !

Muretus played a trick of this kind upon Joseph Scaliger. The story is too well known to insert it here : but they who are not acquainted with it, may find it in Bayle *Trabea*.

C. 995.

Jesus Christus, Verbum et Filius æterni Patris, juxta prophetias venit in mundum, ac factus homo, sponte se in mortem tradidit, ac redemit Ecclesiam suam, offensique Patris iram avertit a nobis, eique nos reconciliavit, ut per gratiam fidei justificati, et a tyrannide liberati, inseramur Ecclesie, et in Ecclesie communiione perseverantes, post hanc vitam consequamur regnum cælorum.

So all the editions which I have seen : but it should certainly be—a Diaboli tyrannide liberati. Erasmus thus humorously turns this *Christian sentence* into *Ciceronian Latin* :

Optimi Maximique Jovis interpres ac filius, servator, Rex, juxta vatum responsa, ex Olympo devolavit in terras, et, hominis assumta figura, sese pro salute Reipublicæ sponte devovit Diis Manibus, atque ita concionem, sive civitatem, sive rempublicam suam, asseruit in libertatem, ac Jovis Optimi Maximi vibratum in nostra capita fulmen restinxit, nosque cum illo rededit in gratiam, ut persuasionis munificentia ad innocentiam reparati, et a Sycophantæ dominata manumissi, cooptemur in civitatem, et in Reipublicæ societate perseverantes, quum fata nos evocarint

ex hac vita, in Deorum immortalium consortio rerum summa potiamur.

## C. 1004.

What shall a Ciceronian do with his skill, when he hath acquired it? to what use can he apply it?

Scribet epistolas Ciceronianas? Ad quos?—Ad *quatuor Italos*, qui se nuper jactare cœperunt Ciceronianos; quum, ut ostensum est, nihil sit Ciceroni dissimilius, vixque tenuem umbram habeant Ciceronis.—Nunc fac rationem tecum ineas, num hoc laudis sit tot vigiliis, tot sudoribus redimendum, non sine periculo valetudinis, ut a quatuor ineptis Italis adolescentibus recipiaris in catalogum Ciceronianorum.

Erasmus probably means some of those Italians who had <sup>2</sup> derided and censured him as a barbarous and unpolite writer: but most assuredly he did not mean Sadolet and Bembus, whom he hath so often commended, of whose style he had a favourable opinion, and who were his particular friends. Indeed he hath sufficiently guarded against such surmises, both by praising them in this very treatise, and by representing these *four Italians as foolish boys, and poor writers*. And yet it must be owned that his censures of the Ciceronians fall obliquely and in some measure upon Bembus, who affected to speak of religious and Christian subjects in a Pagan style.

## C. 1011.

He speaks of his inveterate enemy Albertus Pius, without any rancour and acrimony.

B U. Equidem arbitror Albertum Carporum Principem propius ad Tullianam phrasim accedere quam Aleandrum. Nihil hic edidit hactenus, quod equidem sciam, unicum duntaxat librum, aut, si mavis, prolixam epistolam ab illo scriptam vidi, qua respondet Erasmo, tametsi sunt qui ceu compertum asseverant, ejus operis alterum esse fabrum. N O. Accedit ille quidem, quisquis est, quatenus licuit

<sup>2</sup> See Epist. 469. c. 1858.

homini in Theologicis ac Philosophicis literis ab adolescentia versato.

## C. 1012.

He says of Grocin :

Si Gulielmum Grocinum proferam, respondebis nihil illius exstare præter unicam Epistolam, elaboratam sane et argutam ac bene Latinam. Maluit enim nihil scribere, quam nihil videre, homo natura lusciosus. Ad epistolarem argutiam appositus, Laconismum amabat, et sermonis proprietatem : diceres Atticum in hoc sane genere : nec aliud affectavit : Ciceronis copiam ferre non potuit, si quando legeret illius libros. Nec scripto solum, sed et dicendo Laconisabat.

## C. 1012.

Of Linacer :

Novi (Thomam Linacrum) virum undequaque doctissimum, sed sic affectum erga Ciceronem, ut etiamsi potuisset utrumlibet, prius habuisset esse Quintiliano similis quam Ciceroni, non ita multo in hunc æquior, quam est Græcorum vulgus. Urbanitatem nusquam affectat, ab affectibus abstinet religiosius quam ullus Atticus, brevíloquentiam et elegantiam amat, ad docendum intentus. Aristotelem et Quintilianum studuit exprimere. Huic igitur viro per me quantum voles laudum tribuas licebit ; Tullianus dici non potest, qui studuerit Tullio esse dissimilis.

## C. 1012.

Of More :

Fateor ingenium felicissime natum, et quod nihil non potuisset efficere, si totum his studiis vacare licuisset. Cæterum, illo puero, vix tenuis odor literaturæ melioris demigrarat in Angliam. Deinde parentum auctoritas ad leges ejus gentis descendas, quibus nihil illiteratius, adegit ; mox in causis agendis exercitatus, hinc ad Reipublicæ munia vocatus, vix succisivis horis respicere potuit ad eloquentiæ studia. Tandem in regiam pertractus, et regni regionumque negotiorum undis immersus, magis amare potest studia, quam colere. Et tamen dicendi genus quod assequutus est magis vergit ad Isocraticam structuram ac Dialecticam sub-



tilitatem, quam ad fusum illud Ciceronianæ dictionis flumen, quamquam urbanitate nihilo M. Tullio inferior est. Quoniam autem adolescens diu versatus est in poematibus scribendis, poetam agnoscas et in oratione prosa.

## C. 1013.

Of Erasmus :

Hinc tibi proferam Erasmum Roterodamum, si pateris. **N O.** Professus es te de Scriptoribus dicturum. Istum vero ne inter Scriptores quidem pono, tantum abest ut Ciceronianis annumerem. **B U.** Quid ego audio? atqui videbatur et inter *πολυγράφοις* censeri posse. **N O.** Potest, si *πολυγράφος* est, qui multum chartarum oblinat atramento. Alia res est scribere de quo nos agimus, et aliud scriptorum genus. Alioqui qui manu describendis libris quæstum faciunt, Scriptores dicentur, quum hos eruditi malint Librarios dicere. At hoc est nobis scribere, quod agro fructum producere; hoc nobis lectio, quod agro sterco ratio: hoc nobis concoctio et emendatio, quod in agris occatio, pastinatio, putatio, zizaniorum evulsio, ac reliquæ operæ, sine quibus aut non emergit sementis, aut non adolescit exorta. **B U.** Quid igitur ille? **N O.** Abjicit ac præcipitat omnia, nec parit, sed abortit; interdum justum volumen scribit stans pede in uno, nec unquam potest imperare animo suo, ut vel semel relegat quod scripsit, nec aliud quam scribit; quum post diutinam lectionem, demum ad calamum sit veniendum, idque raro. Quid quod ne affectat quidem Tulliano more dicere, non abstinens a vocibus Theologicis, interim ne a sordidis quidem?

## C. 974. and C. 1016.

His remarks on Longolius are excellent, but too large to be transcribed.

## C. 1019.

Of Bembus and Sadolet :

**N O.** Prætercurristi Jacobum Sadoletum ac Petrum Bembum, prudens opinor. **B U.** Næ prudens viros eximios, raraque horum temporum exempla nolui miscere turbæ. Petri Bembi nihil exstat quod sciam, præter aliquot Epi-

stolas, in quibus exosculor, non modo dilucidum quoddam, sanum, et, ut ita dicam, Atticum dicendi genus, sed pobitatem, ac humanitatem, ac singularem ingenii candorem in oratione velut in speculo relucentem: nec alia re vel fortunatiorem vel ornatorem judico Longolium, quam talium virorum amicitia. At Jacobus Sadoletus cætera fere æqualis Bembo, in Commentario quem elegantissimum edidit in Psalmum 50. non adeo affectat haberi Ciceronianus, ut non personæ decorum tueatur, est enim Episcopus Carpentoractensis, ut non materiæ serviat, ne in Epistolis quidem abhorrens a vocibus quibusdam Ecclesiasticis. Quid igitur? Non dixit Tulliano more? Non dixit: imo dixit potius, qui eo modo dixit, quo probabile est iisdem de rebus, si viveret, dicturum esse Ciceronem, hoc est, de Christianis Christiane. Hujusmodi<sup>a</sup> Ciceronianos ferre possum, qui summo præditi ingenio, disciplinis omnibus absoluti tum judicio prudentiaque singulari, sive unum Tullium in dicendo sibi proposuerunt, sive paucos eximios, sive doctos omnes, non possunt non optime dicere.

## C. 1019.

Of Pontanus and Sannazarius:

B U. Non sum vel tam hebes, vel tam invidus, ut non fatear Pontanum multis egregiis ingenii dotibus virum fuisse summum. Ac me quoque rapit placido quodam orationis lapsu: verborum dulce quiddam resonantium amœno tinnitu demulcet aures, demum splendore quodam perstringit dignitas ac majestas orationis. N O. Quid igitur obstat, quo minus illum fateare Ciceronianum? B U. Ex meo judicio nihil illius laudi vel accesserit vel decesserit. Quædam illius degustavi. Tractat materias profanas, quasique locos communes, de fortitudine, de obedientia, de splendore, quæ tractata facillime nitescunt, atque ex se facile suppeditant sententiarum copiam, easque sic tractat, ut ægre possis agnoscere Christianus fuerit necne. Similiter temperat stylum in libello de Principe. In Epigrammatibus plus tulisset laudis, si vitasset obscœnitatem, quod nec in Dialogis satis cavet. In Me-

<sup>a</sup> Utriusque (Bembi et Sadoleti) multo plura habemus opera, quam viderat Erasmus; quorum nonnulla, ut diximus, sunt nimis Ciceroniana, quamvis ab ingeniosissimis hominibus profecta. Clericus.

teoris et Urania quæsit materiam quæ facile splendescit, et rem sane felicem feliciter tractavit, nec illic requiro Christianam dictionem. In cæteris interdum desidero decorum et aptum, et aculeos quos Marcus Tullius in animo relinquit etiam posito codice. Certe ad istam legem quam tu nobis præscripseras, Ciceronianus non erit, in cujus scriptis sexcentas voces possem ostendere, quæ nusquam sunt apud Ciceronem. Postremo vides, quam infrequens sit in manibus Pontanus, vir extra controversiam in literis inter præcipuos numerandus. NO. Pontano successit Actius Syncerus, qui partum Virginis matris felici carmine descripsit, cui supra modum applausum est a Romano theatro. BV. Testantur hoc abunde Leonis et Clementis Brevia, sic enim hodie vocant, tum Ægidii Cardinalis addita præfatio, ne cæteros commemorem, nec sine causa tantopere placuit. Mihi certe magna cum animi voluptate perlectum est opus utrumque: nam et Eclogas scripsit Piscatorias. Quis autem talem indolem in juvene Patricio non exosculètur? Hoc nomine præferendus est Pontano, quod rem sacram tractare non piguit, quod nec dormitanter eam nec inamœne tractavit; sed, meo quidem suffragio, plus laudis erat laturus, si materiam sacram tractasset aliquanto sacratius: qua quidem in re levius peccavit Baptista Mantuanus, quamquam et alias in hujusmodi argumentis uberior. Nunc quorsum attinebat hic toties invocare Musas et Phœbum? Quid, quod Virginem fingit intentam præcipue Sibyllinis versibus, quod non apte Proteum inducit de Christo vaticinantem, quod Nympharum, Hamadryadum, ac Nereidum plena facit omnia? Quam dure respondet Christianis auribus versus ille, qui, ni fallor, Virgini matri dicitur:

Tuque adeo, spes fida hominum, spes fida Deorum.

Scio *Deorum* metri gratia positum loco *Divorum*. Me quidem leviter offendit<sup>b</sup> in tot virtutibus, quod synalœphæ frequentes hiulcam reddunt compositionem.—

Atque haud scio utrum sit magis reprehendendum, si Chris-

<sup>b</sup> He hath not, as I remember, more *Synalœphas* than Virgil; nor are those *Synalœphas* any blemish in that elegant poem.

tianus profana tractet profane, Christianum se esse *dissimulsis*<sup>c</sup>, an si materias Christianas tractet Paganice.—

“John Hudson—encouraged Litchfield to print Erasmus’s Dialogue *Ciceronianus*, correcting it, adding the Epistles of Erasmus and others relating to the same argument, and made an Index to it.” *Wood*, vol. ii. c. 941,

*De Civilitate morum puerilium.*

Inscribed, A. 1530.

Henrico a Burgundia Adolphi Principis Veriani filio.

Instructions for the education and the behaviour of youth.

“Gybertus Longolius, a famous physician, wrote notes upon this book of Erasmus.” *Burigny*, t. ii. p. 328.

*Galenii Exhortatio &c. Erasmo interprete.*

Dedicated to Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis, a physician, A. 1526.

*Epitome in Elegantiarum Libros Laurentii Vallæ.*

Dedicated to the reader, A. 1534.

*Euripidis Hecuba et Iphigenia, interprete Erasmo.*

Each is dedicated to Warham. In the dedication of Iphigenia, he makes a good remark upon the choruses of Greek Tragedies :

Nusquam enim mihi magis ineptisse videtur Antiquitas, quam in hujusmodi Choris, ubi dum nimium affectat nove loqui, vitiavit eloquentiam : dumque verborum miracula venatur, in rerum judicio cessavit.

*P. Ovidii Nasonis Elegia de Nuce, cum Commentario Erasmi.*

Dedicated to John, son of Sir T. More.

Ii quibus vacabit, conferentes hanc *Nucis* editionem cum Heinsiana, multum discrimen animadvertent. Otio abundabat Erasmus, cum tam longam commentationem ederet in hoc poematum. *Clericus.*

<sup>c</sup> *Dissimulsis*. So also Ed. Bas. It should be *dissimulans*, or *dissimulatus*.

In the Dedication, Erasmus says:

Ne vero mireris apud Ovidium loqui Nucem, quum apud Homerum loquatur Argos navis.—

He was mistaken; there is no such thing in Homer. Instead of *Argos* also, he should have said *Argo*, which is represented by other poets as a talking ship, but not by Homer.

*Erasmi Epigrammata.*

The first of these poems is an Ode in praise of England, and of Henry VII. and of the Royal Family, dedicated to Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.

TOMUS II.

ADAGIA.

C. 707. I.

*Herculei labores.*

ERASMUS here declaims very feelingly and elegantly upon the hard fate of men of Letters, who are rewarded for their pains with envy and malice; and makes an apology for his Adages, showing what a laborious and difficult undertaking it was, and how much it merited the favourable judgment of the Reader, and proper allowances for such defects as were, in a manner, unavoidable. It might very well have stood as a preface to the whole work.

C. 21.

He cites these two precepts of Pythagoras :

Πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ λαλεῖν.

*Adversus solem ne loquitor.* And,

Πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον τετραμμένον μὴ ὀμιχεῖν :

*Adversus solem ne mejito.*

The first, *not to turn yourself towards the Sun when you speak*, is vehemently absurd. I fancy it should be—  
μὴ ἀπόπατεῖν, ἢ, χέζειν, ἢ, ἀφοδεύειν. *ne cacato.*

## C. 77. XIX.

Erasmus here takes an opportunity to censure the Princes and Prelates of his time.

## C. 94. LXIII.

Δὲς διὰ πασῶν.

He commends Ambrosius Leo Nolanus, a learned man, a philosopher, and a musician, and gives us from him some pretty remarks upon this proverb, as also upon C. 889. LXVI.

## C. 106. I.

*Aut regem, aut fatuum nasci oportere.*

In explaining this proverb, Erasmus with much freedom and good sense lashes the vices and the follies of Princes, and tells them their duty. On which Le Clerc notes:

Utinam hæc legerent reges! non tam facile existimarent se nasci dominos hominum, ut nascuntur domini canum venaticorum, nec magis interesse populi, cui pareat, quam canum, a quo alantur; ac perinde non esse cur populi umquam de salute sua quidquam deliberent, aut decernant, quod sit sejunctum a dominorum utilitate.

## C. 163. B.

Οὐ γὰρ μεῖς ἐὰν νῦν ἔχῃς.—

This is not the true reading. See *Menandri Fragmenta*, and the notes, p. 22.

## C. 166. XXXIX.

Here Erasmus hath inserted a very handsome elogy of Rodolphus Agricola. See also *Epist.* 13. c. 1533.

Dialogis meis de Pronunciatione, et Ciceroniano, adjeci orationem Rodolphi Agricolaë, Mediolani, sicuti videtur, habitam. Nihil ab illo viro proficiscitur, quod non divinitatem quandam spiret. Itaque nolim quicquam illius intercidere. *Ep.* 949.

## C. 199. XLV.

He hath showed the same respect to his learned friend

Alciat, who, as he observes, had differed a little from him in explaining this proverb.

## C. 183. IV.

“ Erasmus, in the explication of this proverb, which he hath taken from Apostolius, without citing him :

Τὴν Χάρυβδιν ἐκφυγὼν, τῇ Σκύλλῃ περιέπεσον,

concludes with this verse, famous, says he, amongst the Latins, but the author of which, as he owns, was not known to him:

*Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.*

Galeottus Martius of Narni, who died A. 1476. (and concerning whom see Naudæus, ch. 5. of his Additions to the *History of Lewis XI.* and Father Labbe, p. 373. of his *Bibliothèque Nouvelle de Manuscrits*) hath first discovered that this verse was of Philippus Gaulterus in his *Alexandreis*. *Hoc carmen*, says he in his book *De Doctrina promiscua*, cap. 28.

*Incidit in Scyllam, &c.*

*est Gualteri Galli de Gestis Alexandri, et non vagum proverbium, ut quidam non omnino indocti meminerunt.*

Pâquier in his *Recherches*, l. iii. c. 29. hath since made the same remark. This Philippe Gaultier, called De Châtillon, though born at Lille in Flanders, lived about the middle of the thirteenth century. We have from him, amongst other works, his Poëm entitled *Alexandreis*, in ten books, and not in nine, as says J. G. Vossius *De poëtis Latinis*, p. 74. The verse cited above is in L. v. 301. where the Poet addressing himself to Darius, who, flying from Alexander, fell into the hands of Bessus, says;

Quo tendis inertem,

Rex periture, fugam? Nescis, heu perditæ, nescis

Quem fugias; hostes incurris, dum fugis hostem.

*Incidis in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.*”

Menagiana, t. iii.

## C. 220. I.

We have here a pretty emendation proposed by Paulus Bombasius, and a character given of this learned man, who was a professor of humanity at Bononia.

## C. 293. LXXVII.

He explains the proverb, *In Trophonii antro vaticinatus est*: and says,

Quæ quidem Trophonii fabula mihi adeo videtur similis ei, quæ de *Patricii Antro*, quod est in Hibernia, fertur, ut altera ex altera nata credi possit. Tametsi non desunt etiam hodie permulti, qui descendant: sed prius triduo enecti jejunio, ne capite sano ingrediantur. Qui descenderunt, aiunt sibi ridendi libidinem in omni vita ademtam.

I should be glad to know whether *St. Patric's Den* be still visited by the pious Irish.

De famoso illo S. Patricii Purgatorio scriptores etiam Pontificii inter se non consentiunt. Sunt enim qui nihil singulare in eo se potuisse agnoscere, modeste fatentur. Sunt vero etiam qui stupenda narrant, inter quos est Matthæus Parisiensis, in Chronico ad an. 1153. Falsa certe veris misceri auctor agnoscit; unde sibi sufficere ait, antri prodigiosi conditionem, et modum pœnitentes introducendi hodie observatum descripsisse. Scilicet antequam in cryptam abscondi possit pœnitens, novem dies continuos cibo omni potuque abstineat necesse est. Solo pane sub cineribus cocto et aqua vitam tolerare jubetur. Quo factò, in Templum S. Patricii nudipedem introductum, absolutis rite precibus, septies parietes templi interioris circumire oportet, idemque postea circa sellulas, ut vocant, pœnitentiales prope Purgatorium facere, non quidem pedibus eas obeundo, sed nudatis genibus. Hinc ad crucem se confert in medio aræ positam, qua adorata aliam accedat oportet, saxa inter incondita lapidesque acutos eminentem. Ut vero conceptos inde dolores abstergat facilius, parvum lacum intrat, in cuius fundo marmor reperitur impressis sancti nostri vestigiis sacrum. Idem opus diebus septem continuis semel, octavo tamen bis pœnitenti est faciendum. Tandem, facta confessione, solenni-ritu Purgatorio horis quatuor et viginti inclu-



ditur, præter vas aqua repletum cibo omni destitutus. Quæ vero incluso per dictum tempus accidant, prolixè referre tutum non fuit visum Auctori. *Acta Erudit. Suppl. i. Vol. ii. p. 71.* where an account is given of a book called *Il Mose dell' Ibernia, i. e. Moses Hiberniæ. Vita S. Patricii per Abbatem D. Jacobum Certani, 1686.*

B. Patricii antrum diris et horrendis spectacullis famosum. *Thuanus, L. LXVIII. p. 353.* See also *The Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists compared, part iii.*

C. 332. XCVI.

He tells a story of a rich Londoner refusing to pay the fees which he had promised to a German physician, who attended him in a pestilential fever, and cured him at the hazard of his own life.

C. 345. XXVII.

*Lemnium malum.*

See Bayle *Lemnos*, Not. I. who corrects some mistakes of Erasmus, and who often examines his Adages. Compare Erasmus, C. 281. XLVII. C. 508. LIX. C. 533. XXXII. C. 540. LIII. and C. 1082. XXVIII. C. 841. LVII. C. 900. LXX. C. 1000. L. C. 1022. XXIII. with Bayle, *Euripide*, Not. R. *Acaranie. Abdere. Mollionides*, Not. C. *Lesbos*, Not. C. *Prodicus*, not. D. *Junon*, Not. E.

C. 361. LXXX.

*Ut canis e Nilo.*

The Ægyptian dogs, when they drink at the Nile, are said to run all the while, for fear of being snapped by the Crocodiles. Erasmus cites a witty saying, recorded by Macrobius; *Post fugam Mutinensem, quærentibus quid ageret Antonius, quidam familiaris ejus respondit: Quod canis in Ægypto; Bibit et fugit.*

C. 373. XXI.

*Suspendio deligenda arbor.*

Here is a small stricture upon his rival Cælius Rhodiginus, who pretended to do more than others, and yet could not explain this easy proverb.

## C. 480. XCI.

Ἐν δὲ δικασίῃ κ' Ἀνδροκλείδης πολεμαρχεῖ.

Detorqueri potest—in *Theologos* quosdam, eo nomine indignos, qui dissidium ac tumultus concitant in plebe Christiana, quo nimirum hac occasione celebres reddantur, maluntque publico omnium malo nobilitari, quam inglorii vivere.

Ambitious Divines, who have neither interest enough to get preferment from the Great, nor scholarship enough to become considerable in the Republic of letters, must use these artifices, to make themselves conspicuous. Therefore, *It must needs be, that such offences come,* as long as there are *Deluders* and *Dupes* in this world.

## C. 515.

*Qui bene conjiciet, vatem hunc perhibeto optimum.*

Utinam, says *Erasmus*, hanc divinandi rationem amplecterentur Principes, quorum hodie bona pars a prognostis et astrologis pendet, hominum genere, ut nunc sunt plerique, vano pariter ac seditioso, et Reipublicæ pestilente.

The world is now pretty well cured of this folly, and *Astrology* is as poor a trade to live by as *Philology*.

## C. 551. I.

The discourse upon this proverb contains excellent lessons for Princes, and a fine encomium upon Alexander, Archbishop of St. Andrews.

## C. 581. XCVII.

He gives us here a ludicrous account of a public Theological dispute between Standish<sup>e</sup> (Provincial of the Franciscans in England, and afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) and an Italian Servite. Standish, as *Erasmus* represents him, was a Monk of consummate ignorance and impudence; and the Italian was equal to him in ignorance, but not in impudence. See Bayle *François*, Not. M.

In the *Life of Erasmus*, I have noted that *Erasmus* called Standish, *Episcopum a Sancto Asino*. To explain this

<sup>e</sup> *Life of Erasmus*, vol. 1. p. 203.

Scoff, let it be observed that in those days *St. Asaph* was called *St. Asse*; as you may see in Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 58. 70. iii. p. 116.

## C. 653. LXV.

The wickedness of tyrannical princes, and of those who have the care of their education, and of the Mendicant Monks, is here censured with great freedom and vehemence. Erasmus accounted these remarks to be of no small importance, for he recommends them to the perusal of his friend More. Ep. 311. C. 1694.

## C. 755. XXXVI.

*Pontificalis cæna.*

Here he observes jocosely, that the best sort of wine was called in some places *Vinum Theologicum*; and gives this reason for it, that it is written concerning the priests, *They shall eat the sins of the people*, and that sins being of hard digestion, the strongest wine was the more necessary for them.

## C. 770. I.

*Sileni Alcibiadis.*

To this proverb he hath subjoined a long discourse, in which he exhorts men not to judge of persons and things by appearances, nor to entertain false notions of virtue, of piety, of grandeur, and of happiness. He censures very freely the vices of the great, both in church and state, and gives excellent advice to princes and popes, and to other persons in authority, which probably was then thrown away upon most of them, as much as it would be now.

## C. 788. XXVII.

*Arcadicum germen.*

See La Mothe Le Vayer, tom. iv. p. 223. 12mo.

## C. 869. I.

*Scarabæus aquilam quærit.*

His commentary upon this text contains an entertaining satire upon bad kings.

## C. 947. XC.

'*Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς*, Archilochum teris. ERASMUS.

“*Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖς*, non minus dure diceretur, pro *Archilochi vestigiis ingrederis*, quam Latinis, *Archilochum calcas*, aut *conculcas*.” H. STEPHANUS.

Here Stephanus, though so well skilled in the Greek language, hath made a slip; for he who studies the works of Archilochus, in order to imitate him, might not improperly be said *Ἀρχίλοχον πατεῖν*, as it is said in Aristophanes:

*Ἀμαθῆς γὰρ ἔφυς, καὶ πολυπράγμων, ἐδ' Αἰσωπον πεπάτηκας.*  
— *Ne Æsopum quidem trivisti.* Avib. 471.

After I had written this, I found the following note in Bayle's Dictionary: “As to the proverb, *Archilochum teris*, I do not think that it means, as Erasmus imagined, a slanderer, who walks in the steps of Archilochus, or who studies his writings; but a man who having offended Archilochus, ought to fear the fate of one who treads upon a serpent, and receives immediately a mortal wound. See what Lucian puts in the mouth of Archilochus against one who had spoken ill of him, *Alis cicadam comprehendisti*, and you will be satisfied that the exposition of Erasmus, although conformable to the notion of Suidas, is erroneous.

Yet I deny not that *πατεῖν* may be taken sometimes like *terere*, for *lectitare*: *ἐδ' Αἰσωπον πεπάτηκας*, said Aristophanes, as Mr. de la Monnoie informed me.” *Archilochus.*  
Not. C.

## C. 951. I.

*Dulce bellum inexpertis.*

Here Erasmus hath drawn up a long and laboured dissertation concerning the great evils of war, and hardly allows it lawful in any case for Christian nations to wage war with each other. He informs us, that when he was at Rome he had drawn up a Treatise upon this subject, called *Antipolemus*, inscribed to Julius the Second, and here he speaks of it as if he intended to print it.

Verum hisce de rebus omnibus aliquanto copiosius audietur, cum edemus librum, cui titulum fecimus *Antipolemo*, quem olim Romæ vitam agentes, ad Julium II. Ro-

manum Pontificem conscripsimus: eo tempore, quo de bello in Venetos suscipiendo consultabatur.

He could not have preached to a worse auditor than this same wicked pope, who loved war as much as all good Christians hate it, and of whom that might have been truly said, which Agamemnon says of Achilles:

Ἐχθιστος δέ μοι ἔσσι διωτρεφέων βασιλῆων,  
Ἄλει γάρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη, πόλεμοί τε, μάχαι τε.

## C. 1037. LIV.

*Melitæus catulus.*

After having rallied those who keep lap-dogs, he says:

Sed intolerabilius est quod apud Britannos complures alunt greges ursorum ad saltationem, animal vorax ac maleficum. Cujusmodi sunt et simiæ, licet minus voraces. Nec pudet has Christianorum esse delicias, tot egenis esurientibus. Verum quid ista deploramus, cum obambulent, qui exemplo ab Italis orto, puellam aut puerum circumferunt gesticulationes ineptas edoctum, et unius puellæ calamitâs alit otium quatuor aut quinque robustorum nebulonum. Et hujusmodi ludos æquis oculis spectant homines Christiani.

## C. 1040. LXVIII.

Plutarchus advers. Stoicos:—μηδ' εἰ χελώνην, τὸ τῷ λόγῳ φασι, μετόπισθε διώκοι Ἀδράστῃ ταχὺς ἵππος. Nec si testudinem, inquit, ut est in proverbio, insequatur Adrasti celer equus.

Here H. Stephanus says:

Non videtur deprehendisse Erasmus (solet enim diligenter hac de re admonere) ex poëta *quoriam* sumta esse postrema hujus loci verba.

It is strange that Stephanus himself should not have recollected that this same poet is his friend Homer:

Οὐδ' εἴ κεν μετόπισθεν Ἀρείονα δῖον ἐλάυνοι,  
Ἀδρήστῃ ταχὺν ἵππον, ὃς ἐκ Θέοφιν γένος ἦεν.

*Il. Ψ. 346.*

## C. 1049. I.

He expatiates upon the importance of choosing good

neighbours, good friends, and good patrons; and then says of himself:

Idem accidit mei similibus in deligendis ac retinendis studiorum nostrorum patronis et altoribus. Negligimus oblatos, aut amplectimur nobis parum aptos, aut si quis obtigit accommodus, non studemus illius erga nos benevolentiam mutuis officiis alere. In prima certe parte gravissime peccavi adolescens. Etenim si tum respondissem favoribus magnatum, qui me cœperant amplecti, futurus eram aliquid in literis; sed immodicus libertatis amor effecit, ut diu cum perfidis amicis, et pervicaci paupertate colluctarer. Nec erat finis futurus, nisi *Guilhelmus* ille *Waramus*, Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, vir non tam ob tituli munerisque dignitatem, quam ob egregias summoque Præsule dignas virtutes reverendus, me veluti fugitantem in amicitiae suæ nassam pellexisset. Gustata duntaxat illius humanitate, contuli me in Italiam. Ibi cessantem, neque quicquam minus quam de repetenda Britannia cogitantem, ultro revocat delato sacerdotio. Hoc quoque neglectum est. Cætesum ubi me ventus alius retulisset in Angliam, sic adstrinxit non tam benignitate, quamquam ea quoque fuit et est in illo singularis, quam morum amabili quadam jucunditate, mira que in amando constantia, *id quod in viris primatibus sane rarissimum est*, ut nolens illi præberem manus. Hæc erat esca, qua me pertraxit in suum jus. Ita meo bono captus sum, hoc uno nomine felix, quod hic Mæcenas obtigit; sed longe felicissimus futurus, si maturius contigisset. An illum hujus alumni pœniteat nescio, certe mutuis in illum officiis meo animo nondum ipse satisfeci, nec videor unquam satisfactorus. Proinde mihi rogandi sunt omnes, qui bonarum literarum, qui religionis amore ducuntur, ut si quid fructus non pœnitendi cœperunt ex meis lucubrationibus, huic sanctissimo præsuli pro me gratias agant, atque adeo, si possint, referant. Referent autem, si non patientur illius memoriam apud posteros intermori, cujus benignitati debent quicquid ex libris meis hauserunt, si quid omnino frugiferum hauserunt.

C. 1055. VI.

He informs us that he had given an edition of the *Mimi* of Publius Syrus, with short notes.

## C. 1068. LXII.

Having occasion to mention Joannes Campanus, he says that he was *vir suo seculo magnus, et admirabilis ingenii*. See an account of this man and of his works in Le Clerc, *Bibl. Chois.* xiv. 56. and in Bayle's *Dict. Campanus*, and in Paul Jovius, *Elog.* p. 39.

## C. 1080. XVIII.

He expresses a high esteem for Hermolaus Barbarus, and says that he was *vir divinus*.

## C. 1135. LV.

Speaking of the *Μητραγύγραι*, he says that they were—*Non dissimiles iis qui hodie Divi Antonii, Cornelii, aut Joannis Baptistæ reliquias ad quæstum circumferunt, potius quam ad pietatem.*

“ IN the *Adages* of Erasmus there were many bold strokes, which offended the Divines; and they had prevailed with Paul IV. to condemn the book. The Fathers of the Council of Trent, taking into consideration the usefulness of that work, ordered Paulus Manutius to revise it, and strike out every thing that was offensive. Manutius, yielding to the exhortations of Gregory XIII, accepted the commission; and was assisted by some Divines. Scarcely was the revision of this book completed, when Paulus Manutius died. His son Aldus dedicated to Gregory this interpolated work, under a title in which no mention at all is made of Erasmus.

*Adagia, quæcumque ad hanc diem exierunt, Pauli Manucii studio atque industria, doctissimorum Theologorum consilio atque ope, ex præscripto Sacro-sancti Consilii Tridentini, Gregorio XIII. Pont. Max. auspice, ab omnibus mendis vindicata, quæ pium et veritatis Catholicæ studio lectorem poterant offendere, sublatis falsis interpretationibus, et nonnullis, quæ nihil ad rem pertinebant, longis inanibusque digressionibus, cum plurimis ac locupletissimis indicibus, nunc vero in hac postrema editione ab innumeris erroribus repurgata, et veræ lectioni restituta.*

Aldus, in the Epistle dedicatory, declares that the intention of the Fathers of the Council of Trent, in ordering this revision of the *Adages*, was to preserve the readers from

being infected by the impieties with which Erasmus had filled most of his works. It was at Florence that the Adages thus corrected, or corrupted and spoiled, were printed in 1575. Gregory XIII. approved this edition, and condemned all the others.

Although Aldus Manutius, addressing himself to the Pope, says that his father had a share in thus revising the Adages, yet many of the learned affirm that the fact is not true. Muretus pretends that he had only reviewed the sheets corrected by the revisors, and had given them to the printer. Gasper Riciulli presided over this edition. He was Archbishop of Regio, after having been General of the Monks called *Minimes*; and he distinguished himself in the Sessions of the Council of Trent, which were held under the Pontificate of Pius IV.

Before we take leave of this subject, let us relate a passage in a letter of Demetrius Valerius, one of the authors of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*. He says that when the Proverbs of Erasmus were brought to Cologne, the Doctors there, who did not love Erasmus, said openly; *Of what use can this book be to us? Have we not the Proverbs of Solomon?*" Burigni *Vie d' Erasme*, tom. ii. p. 374.

### TOMUS III. PARS I. et II.

#### ERASMI EPISTOLÆ.

#### PRÆFATIO CLERICI.

OPERUM Des. Erasmi nullum est notius, et quod doctorum hominum manibus jucundius teratur, quam Epistolarum volumen. Quamvis enim in aliis sint multa doctiora et reconditoris eruditionis plena, ut in Adagiorum volumine; attamen eam auctoritatem in Republica Literaria, ad hunc usque diem, obtinuit Erasmus, tantaque est ingenii ejus amœnitas, et judicii id acumen; ut non minus cupiant Eruditi nosse quæ ad ipsum Erasmum pertinent, et quæ joca aut seria ad amicos ex tempore scriberet; quam quæ ex abditissima Antiquitate, non sine labore et meditatione, seu sacra, seu profana illa sint, depromebat. Nec sane video cur tanta curiositate Poëtæ, Rhetoris, Theologi cu-



jusvis antiqui vitam rimemur, ut vel minimas ejus circumstantias diligentissime adnotemus, iisque erutis plane triumphemus; ad vitas vero præstantissimorum virorum, qui patrum aut avorum nostrorum ævo vixerunt, egregiamque operam Reipublicæ Literariæ aut Ecclesiasticæ navarunt, nauseemus. Sed non omnium, imo paucorum hoc esse fastidium quotidie experimur, et nuper in Erasmo etiam nostro experti sumus. Cum enim sermone Gallico Vitam ejus edidissemus, collectam potissimum ex hac Epistolarum ejus Editione, vidimus eam summo cum plausu a viris elegantioribus excipi, et avidissime legi; cum propter res ipsas, tum etiam quod non tam nos narraremus quid fecisset aut dixisset Erasmus, quam ipsum veluti in scenam denuo prodeuntem, et verbis ex Epistolis desumptis, rem totam exponentem induceremus. Dixit Horatius de Lucilii scriptis:

Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim  
 Credebat libris; neque, si male cesserat, unquam  
 Decurrens alio, neque, si bene; quo fit ut omnis  
 Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella  
 Vita Senis.

Idem dixeris de hisce Erasmi Epistolis, cum ab ipso, tum ab aliis editis. Quæcumque recte, aut secus fecit, vel sensit, quæ timuit, quæ cupiit, omnia hic sine fuco exposita sunt; erat enim hæc indoles Erasmi, ut diu celare non posset quæ sentiebat, præsertim amicis, et interdum quoque inimicis, si paullo commotior esset. Interdum quidem paulo cautius loqui videtur, sed mox ad ingenium redit; ita ut facile intelligas quid revera senserit, si modo sequentes Epistolas legas.

Editæ fuerant, Erasmo vivo, Epistolæ plurimæ, quarum numerum auxit in posterioribus Editionibus; queriturque in Epistola DVII. quæ prima erat in Editione Basileensi et Londinensi, et MCCXCV. varia contigisse, editis illis Literis, propter quæ nonnullas non editas fuisse optasset, tum etiam agit de variis generibus epistolarum, eaque habet quæ utilia ac jucunda erunt lectu, nec a nobis hic exscribentur. Sed sæpe mirati sumus, cur Erasmus, cum Epistolas suas in lucem publicam vivus emitteret, nullam prorsus rationem habuerit temporum, quibus scriptæ erant, multas sine ulla temporis nota emiserit, in multis tempora mendose notata reliquerit, atque omnes in fasciculum collectas, sine ordine

ullo, veluti projecerit ab aliis in ordinem redigendas. Ejusmodi enim confusione fit ut nunc Erasmus senem, mox puerum, aut juvenem audias loquentem, finem rerum quarumdam legas, antequam earum videris initium, nec ullam seriem ejus vitæ adsequaris. Quibus rebus fiebat, ut voluptas, quam ex nonnullarum lectione nemo non capiebat, cum ad alias transeundum erat, valde minueretur; quia re imperfecta dimissus Lector continuo ad alia transferebatur, sæpe antiquiora, aut quæ nullum certe nexum cum superioribus habebant; nec ad rem inchoatam, nisi sero redibat.

Itaque in hac Editione, ante omnia operam dandam esse putavimus, ut ordine temporum collocarentur, quo et historiam vitæ Erasmi, et rerum, quæ ejus tempore contigerunt, et quarum meminit, aut pars fuit, habeat lector; qua re nihil jucundius ac utilius esse posse nostra ipsorum experientia sensimus. Cum enim varias Erasmi Epistolas, prout erant, ordine perturbato olim legissemus, nec potuissemus eam confusionem sine fastidio ferre, atque ad finem voluminis pervenire; contra maxima voluptate perfusi sumus, quando primum eas ordine collocatas legere cœpimus. Quod et alii experti sunt, qui quamvis antea legissent has Literas, novum tamen prorsus opus sibi legere visi sunt, cum vitam Erasmi ex ordine dispositis collectam, Gallico sermone, perlustrarunt. Nos etiam nonnulli monuerunt, sese varia, cum voluptate, in ea vita deprehendisse, quæ, legentes confusas Epistolas, non animadverterant. Qua re factum est ut hanc Editionem, necessario, propter addita-  
menta, dilatam viri docti pœne quotidie flagitaverint.

Nonnulla tamen incommoda Literas hasce ordine disponentibus occurrerunt, quæ quo minus rem omnino perfectam daremus, ut cupiebamus, obstiterunt. Primum erant, Epistolæ, sine ulla temporis et loci, unde scriptæ erant, nota, editæ. Deinde menda erant in numeris quibus dies et anni expressi erant, et in ipsis etiam locis; quia manum Erasmi minime sane elegantem adsequi non potuerant Typothetæ, aut ipse etiam Erasmus ex memoria vacillante confusis Epistolis notas temporum et locorum addiderat. Hinc factum ut Londinum et Lovanium, Bruxella et Basilea aliquando sint confusa. Denique Literas non paucas, Editione jam ferme adfecta, novas accepit Bibliopola, quæ ordine suo non potuerunt collocari. Nulla ratione hisce in-

commodis mederi nos posse melius existimavimus, quam si in Appendicem eas omnes Epistolas, quæ aut cum cæteris non convenirent, aut serius in manus nostras venissent, conjiceremus; ubi sunt iterum ordine temporum collocatæ, quæ quidem sic collocari potuerunt, aliæ vero alphabetico duntaxat, pro nominibus eorum ad quos scriptæ sunt, dispositæ.——Cæterum non omittendum tempora datarum Epistolarum nunc more Romano, nunc festis Christianorum diebus additis, nunc more hodierno numero dierum mensis expresso, ad unam hanc posteriorem commodioremque formam redacta fuisse ab erudito viro Joanne de la Faye.

Non tantum optimo ordine collocatæ sunt, emendatioresque prodeunt hæ Epistolæ, sed multo etiam auctiores quam unquam prodierant.——

Præstantissimorum virorum, ad quos Erasmus scripsit— Vitas atque Elogia haberes, si diutius vixisset vir reverendus Claudius Joly, Canonicus et Officialis Parisiensis qui anno 1699 pollicitus erat Petro Hottono, si modo de conditionibus conveniret, quod facile potuisset fieri, se missurum huc opus Gallicum, quod inscripserat *Historiam παλιγγγενεσις Literarum, sub finem XV. sæculi et initio XVI. qua continentur elogia multorum eruditorum virorum illius ævi, et præsertim Vita Erasmi Roterodami, qui primus earum instaurator fuit.* Sed mors viri eruditi, matura quidem, si ætatem ejus spectes, at huic Operi acerba, impediit quominus copia ejus fieret Bibliopolæ; qui etiamnum hodie non illibenter id ederet, si nancisci posset, vel hac sola de causa, quod Erasmi Epistolis lucem fœneraretur.——

It is not necessary that we should make any further remarks upon the Epistles of Erasmus, from which we have principally collected the materials for his Life.

#### TOMUS IV.

THE fourth tome of Erasmus from C. 1. to C. 83. contains translations of Plutarch.

The first, *De discrimine adulatoris et amici*, is dedicated to Henry VIII. and was very proper for the perusal of a prince who was too fond of flattery.

The second Tract, *De utilitate capienda ab inimicis*, is

dedicated to Cardinal Wolsey; and he takes the liberty to tell him very frankly that the favours bestowed by the King upon Erasmus had consisted more in words than in deeds. *Equidem plurimum illi jam debeo, quod me toties ornat testimonio vocis suæ. Quis enim non gaudeat tali ore laudari? Plus tamen debiturus sim, si auctis fortunulis nostris, fidem quoque laudibus, quas mihi tribuit, adstruat. Nam nunc quidem multi non credunt me talem esse, qualem ille prædicat, quod conspiciant hanc fortunam tam magnificis illius præconiis parum respondere.*

The Tract, *De cohibenda iracundia*, is dedicated to Alexius Turzo, treasurer to the Queen of Hungary, and dated A. 1525.

That *De Vitiosa Verecundia* is dedicated to Franciscus Dulfus, a young gentleman, whom he hath mentioned and commended in his Epistles, A. 1526.

*Plutarchus de tuenda bona valetudine.*

† This Translation Erasmus dedicated to John Young. The dedication is omitted in the editions of Basil and of Leyden. Knight, p. 174. gives it us imperfect and curtailed; and informs us not whence he took it. I transcribe it from an old edition, which is in our *Museum Britannicum*, and which contains *Plutarchi Opuscula*, translated by Erasmus, Steph. Niger, Angelus Barbatus, Bilibaldus Pirckheimerus, and Phil. Melanchthon; printed at Basil by Froben, A. 1518. 4to.

*Clarissimo viro Joanni Yonge, Sacrorum Scriniarum Magistro, Des. Erasmus Roterodamus, S. D.*

Quod ad tantum amicum tantulam mitto strenulam, mirari non debes, qui scias hanc esse xeniorum naturam, ut benevolentia symbolo magis quam pretio commendentur. Tum quid satis breve videri possit, quod ad hominem mittitur, tot obeundis legationibus, tot publicis regni negotiis, semper occupatissimum? Ut ne illud addam, his turbulentissimis ac vere ferreis temporibus brevissimum esse convenire, quicquid ad Gratias ac Musas attinet. Verum ut hoc munusculum meum nonnihil etiam ornem verbis: Primum,

† Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 52.

e Plutarchi thesauro depromptum <sup>e</sup>, a quo quidem auctore scis nihil non egregium proficisci. Deinde, recens est, et adhuc spirans officinam. Ad hæc, vix credas, quantis mihi pusillus hic liber constiterit sudoribus: non tam quod Plutarchus, vel ob stylum, vel ob infinitam rerum haud expositarum congeriem, sit difficilior, sed multo magis ob id, quod quam est omnium doctissimus, tam idem est omnium depravatissimus; et ut est unus præcipue dignus qui legatur, ita unus est, qui minime legi possit. Adeo in singulis pene versibus cum mendarum portentis luctandum est. Denique si argumentum quæras, docet quo pacto, vel absque pharmacis, bonam tueare valetudinem. Quam etiamsi nemo non plurimi facit, paucos tamen arbitror digniores, quibus ea quam diutissime contingat, quam te, qui omnia tua studia ad publicam confers utilitatem, ut non tam tibi quam patriæ natus videare. Docet autem hoc, minus quidem medice, quam Galenus aut Paulus Aegineta <sup>h</sup>, sed magis philosophice. Superest, ut hoc quicquid est libelli jam in manus hominum exeat, non solum tuo nomine commendatius, verum etiam lima emendatius; atque adeo ob id ipsum commendatius, quod emendatius. Bene vale, Londini, Calendis Januariis, Anno 1513.

<sup>i</sup> “The first edition of this book is printed at Lovain, under the correction of his friends Hadr. Barlandus, and Mart. Dorpius, with an Epistle of the former, and some verses of the latter, concluding:

*Imprimebat Lovanii Theodericus Martinus Alostensis, Anno a partu Virginis millesimo quingentesimo tertio decimo, mense Novembris, Leone decimo Pontifice Max. et Maximiliano Cæsare orbi terrarum præsidentibus. 4to.*”

There is also in the *Museum Britannicum* an English translation of this version of Erasmus, without date, *Imprynted by me Robert Wyer dwellynge at the sygne of St. John Evangelyst, in saynt Martyns Paryshe besyde Charynge Crosse.*

It is in small 8vo, and bound up with several medical tracts, printed by the same person, and perhaps translated into English by him.

“Plutarch, in his Treatise *De tuenda bona valetudine,*

<sup>†</sup> Perhaps *depromptum est.*

<sup>h</sup> Aegineta.

<sup>i</sup> Knight, p. 174.

says: Τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐγκέφαλον τῆ Φοίνικος, γλυκὺν ὄντα σφόδρα κεφαλαλγὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι. Erasmus had translated this: *They say that the brain of the Phoenix, which is very sweet, gives the head-ach.* At least it is so in Xylander's edition of Plutarch, tom. ii. p. 133. Perhaps Erasmus had translated it so in his first edition; but in the Basil edition of his works, and in that of Leyden, tom. iv. c. 39. B. it is *palmæ cerebrum*. It should have been *palmæ medulla*; and Xylander, who was a learned man, should have corrected this fault in his edition of Plutarch. If Xylander and Erasmus had been asked, whether they imagined that any man had ever eaten the brains of a phoenix, they would have owned that Plutarch could not have entertained a fancy so ridiculous. Yet they let this fault stand, which doubtless they would have corrected, if they had thought about it. But it is impossible for a man to be always attentive to his work." *Averanius* in the *Bibl. Chois.* xxii. 6.

Muretus took notice of this blunder, in his *Varia Lektionen*, lib. xiii. c. 12. Perron also hath censured the same mistake in Amiot, the French translator of Plutarch. *Perronian.* p. 80.

*Apophthegmata, lepideque dicta Principum, Philosophorum, ac diversi generis hominum.*

This is a large collection of thirty-seven sheets, which Erasmus compiled, as he did his Adages, in the course of his studies. Books of this kind, when compiled by men of great reading and abilities, are always useful and entertaining. It is dedicated to William, Duke of Cleves, A. 1531.

C. 156. X.

Socrates interrogatus quamobrem ipse non administraret Rempublicam, cum administrandi rationem optime sciret, respondit, Eum utiliorem esse civitati, qui multos efficeret idoneos gubernandæ Reipublicæ, quam qui ipse recte gubernaret. Idem mihi respondit Nicolaus Leonicensus Ferrariæ, demiranti cur artem medicandi, quam profitebatur, ipse non exerceret. Plus, inquit, ago docens omnes medicos. Nec dissimile mihi respondit unicus studiorum meorum Mæcenas Guilhelmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Sacerdotium improbe recusanti, dicentique, Qua fronte fruar

illorum pecuniis, quibus ut linguæ ignarus, nec concionari possum, nec monendo, nec consolando adesse, nec ullum boni pastoris officium præstare? Quasi, inquit, non plus efficias, qui libris doces pastores omnes, quam si uni rusticanae plebeculae inservias. Fessus sum amice dictum, mihi tamen non persuasit.

## C. 219. IV.

—Plerique sunt qui putent optime collocatum, quod impenditur templis ac sacrificiis epulivæ divorum: at vir ille perspicax (Phocion) sensit, multo sanctius esse, reddere quibus debeas: quid censurus de his, qui fraudata conjugæ ac liberis, exstruunt sacrificis structuras regias, et horum otio alendo magnam facultatum partem impendunt?

## C. 300. LVI.

See Bayle, *Drusus* (M. Liv.), Not. O.

## C. 335. VIII.

He again takes the opportunity to salute his old friends the Monks:

Philosophus Ethnicus rejecit a ditissimo liberalissimoque Rege ultro delatam ingentem pecuniæ summam: et nunc pro Sanctis haberi volunt, qui extremam professi paupertatem, in tantum ut horreant etiam ærei nummi contactum non aliter quam viperæ, non referendis artibus venantur. divitum ac pauperum liberalitatem.

## C. 355. XLII.

—Quum essem (says Erasmus) apud Coloniam Agrippinam, Senatus honoris gratia misit vinum in cantharis testaceis, nec eos repeti mos est. Id admiratus, rogavi causam. Responsum est, olim vinum solere mitti cantharis argenteis: hoc honoris quum esset habitum cuidam ex eorum numero, qui magnam nobilitatis partem existimant raptò vivere, postridie mane profectus est cum argenteis cantharis. Re comperta, misit ad illum Senatus qui cantharos reposceret. At ille; Ultro, inquit, dono dedistis, et ego gratias egi. Hoc casu admoniti mutarunt consuetudinem.

## C. 357. XI.

See Bayle, *Duellius*, Not. E.

## C. 363. II.

Quod accurate factum velimus, raro faciendum est. Hac ratione duci videntur Itali quidam eruditi, qui licet pulcre calleant Latine, tamen vix unquam adduci possunt ut in familiari congressu Latine loquantur. At si quando compellit necessitas, dicunt exacte, quasique de scripto. Novi Venetiæ Bernardum Ocricularium, civem Florentinum, cujus historias si legisses, dixisses alterum Sallustium, aut certe Sallustii temporibus scriptas. Numquam tamen ab homine impetrare licuit, ut mecum Latine loqueretur: subinde interpellabam, Surdo loqueris, vir præclare; vulgaris linguæ vestratis tam sum ignarus quam Indicæ. Verbum Latinum numquam quivi ab eo extundere.

## C. 370. XV.

See Bayle, *Apelles*, Not. D.

Under these Apophthegms are placed some critical notes of Paulus Leopardus, pointing out some mistakes of Erasmus.

“Nicolas Udall wrote a Commentary on the Apophthegms of Erasmus.” *Wood*, vol. i. c. 88.

ΜΩΡΙΑΣ

ΕΓΚΩΜΙΟΝ.

*Stultitiæ*

*Laus.*

Cum Commentariis Gerardi Listrii, et figuris Joannis Holbenii. E Codice Academiæ Basiliensis. Accedunt.

Præfatio Caroli Patini.

Vita Holbenii, pictoris Basiliensis.

Opera Holbenii.

Epistola Gerardi Listrii ad Joannem Paludanum.

Præfatio Erasmi ad Thomam Morum.

*Ex Præfatione Caroli Patini*\*.

Hujus operis apologeticum scribere tum virium tenuitas, tum animus prohibet. Quod quisque mali reperiet, prætereat; hauriat, si quid sit boni. Cogit et Erasmus in omnes lusisse, eo magis excusandum quod nullum peculiariter læserit. Qui ad rem plura desiderabit, epistolas legat in calce hujus libelli hac de causa appositas, leporibus, elegantibus, eruditione plenas. Mihi porro Reipublicæ literariæ bono assidue intento, e re publica visum est libellum hunc quem pluribus et utilem et perjudicundum fore perspiciebam,

\* Vide C. Patini *Lyceum Patav.* p. 77.



e Bibliotheca Academiæ Basiliensis gratioso ejus Procerum indultu denuo producere. Imagines deinde Jo. Holbenii<sup>1</sup> hoc merebantur, ut non soli Basileæ, verum et toti orbi literato communicarentur: sive artis ejus præstantiam admireris, sive quæ ex iis oritur, Declamationis hujus illustrationem. Tanta enim diligentia figurarum lineas calamo circumduxit, ut ad miraculum usque illarum aliquot mihi videantur elaboratæ.

Initio libelli, hæc manu exarata leguntur: *Hanc MORIAM pictam decem diebus ut oblectaretur in ea Erasmus habuit.* Pagina ejusdem Basiliensis editionis 53.<sup>m</sup> a latere Erasmi sedentis et scribentis, docti cujusdam viri hæc manuscripta sunt: *Quum ad hunc locum perveniebat Erasmus, se pictum sic videns exclamavit, Ohe! ohe! si Erasmus adhuc talis esset, duceret profecto uxorem.* Erasmi vero manu, libro inscriptum est: ADAGIA ERASMI, quo indicaretur librorum sibi dilectissimus. Ad ejusdem p. 54.<sup>n</sup> Epicuri de grege porcum cernens Erasmus, uno verbo rem totam declaraturus, et in amicum lusurus, adscripsit HOLBEIN, quo scilicet pictoris illius mores indicaret. Pagina sequenti,<sup>o</sup> ineptas ridens Scotistarum distinctiones scripsit Erasmus; *Scoti anima cacat stulta logicalia.* Sunt et alia ad marginem adscripta partim declarandi causa, si quæ obscuriora occurrebant, partim confirmandi, si quæ minus<sup>p</sup> incredibilia viderentur; interim cum omnia enarrare longum nimis foret et superfluum, satius est silentio hæc præterire.

Commentarios Gerardi Listrii Rhenensis subjunximus, ab erudita Moriarum declamatione inseparabiles, pari doctrinæ gressu cum ipso contextu procedentes. Hinc conjecturam arripuerunt aliqui, eosdem non a Listrio, sed ab ipso Erasmo fuisse concinnatos, adeo mens et eruditio scriptoris cum commentatore conveniunt. Illam firmat Gerardi nomen quod Erasmi parenti commune fuit, et Rhenensis patria: ad Mosam enim, quæ Rheni partem facit, situm est Röttero-

<sup>1</sup> See Keysler's Travels, vol. i. p. 138.

"*Fuelsing*, in his History of the most eminent Painters of Switzerland, written in German, and printed at Zurich, in 8vo, 1755, and 1756; and of which I find an extract in the *N. Bibliothèque Germanique*, tom. XXI. p. 423. says of Holbein: *He would have been starved to death, if Erasmus and Amerbachius had not frequently relieved him.*" Mr. de Missy.

<sup>m</sup> Col. 487.

<sup>n</sup> C. 488.

<sup>o</sup> C. 489.

<sup>p</sup> It should be *nimis incredibilia*, or *minus credibilia*.

damum, in quo natus Erasmus. Hic postea totum ejus tractum frequenter incoluit, lustratis sæpe Basilea, Argentina, Moguntia, Colonia, aliisque ad ejus oram sitis. Hinc putant Erasmum sub hoc ænigmate latuisse, qui ne insolentiæ cujusdam accusaretur, quod in proprium opus commentatus fuisset, amici, bona cum ejus venia, nomen sibi substituit. Accedit non modo styli æqualitas, verum et opinionum convenientia.—Hanc in rem sunt Petri Opmeeri verba in opere Chronographico, pag. 454. “Erasmus edebat tunc quoque Moriam, salsa aspergine perjucundum, sed Theologo prorsus indecorum opus: quod ne quid deesset, illustravit commentariis, sub nomine Gerardi Listrii, &c.”

Eadem ferme recenset And. Desselius, in Bibliotheca Belgica, p. 276, 277.

Gerardum Listrium Rhenensem extitisse porro nullum est dubium, &c. Quid tandem de auctore commentariorum Moriae censendum est? Listrium vixisse luce clarius patet, uxoratum fuisse, Grammaticum, Medicum, trilinguem, πολυμαθῆσαντον, variorumque etiam operum scriptorem. Opinio nostra est, quæ cæteras conciliare valet, eum quidem commentarios edidisse, sed in iis usum plerumque Erasmi opera, &c.

The learning and sagacity which appears in these notes, in discovering all the places of ancient writers alluded to in the text, and a singular care to soften such passages as might offend the Bigots, make it probable that Erasmus wrote some part of them, at least, and that Listrius lent his name to the whole.

The *Encomium Moriae*<sup>a</sup> was translated into French by Gueudeville, A. 1717.

“Erasmus dedicated this work in 1508 to Thomas More, his particular friend, a man as jocose as himself, and consequently capable of relishing the humour of this ludicrous declamation. By an ingenious and useful drollery, he introduces Folly describing the follies of mankind, without sparing any station and degree. Yet he names none, and represents no person in such a manner as to point him out. His design was to lash the faults of the age, with a view to re-

<sup>a</sup> Life of Erasm. vol. i. p. 35.

form offenders, if it were possible, rather than to expose and exasperate them.

Yet as the monks, the scholastic divines, and the hypocrites of those times furnished him with the smartest strokes of raillery which occur in the treatise; some there were who took offence at it, probably because they knew themselves to be guilty of the faults which are there censured. He was therefore obliged to draw up an Apology addressed to Dorpius, in 1515. More, who was much pleased with the work of his friend, also undertook the defence of it in a letter addressed to Dorpius, who at last owned himself to be satisfied, because Erasmus and More had treated him gently enough, though they were not much inclined to spare the perverse divines of those days.

This translation of the *Encomium Moriae*, like that of More's *Utopia* by the same hand, is rather a paraphrase of the burlesque kind, than a version.

One can hardly excuse Erasmus entirely, for having put into the mouth of Folly some strokes, which seem to confound religious truth with folly, and honest persons with idiots, knaves, and madmen: but as the piety of this great man is well known, and established, from his other works, it is apparent that the spirit of declamation and of humour carried him rather too far. A sensible reader will easily see what allowances and abatements are to be made for such ludicrous sallies." *Le Clerc*, Bibl. A. and M. vii. 214.

None are greater fools than they who set up for fool-doctors in the grand hospital of incurables, the principal districts and partitions of which are, Europe, Asia, Africa, America, with a fifth towards the South pole, not yet discovered. The first degree of folly is to think one's self wise; the second is to profess one's self wise; and the third is to pretend to reform the world, and to cure others of their folly. To attempt such a cure, a man must be a fool and a half. So moralizes a certain philosopher, who, methinks, judgeth rather too severely of his fellow-creatures. In the spacious hospital of which he speaks, there are always some patients who may be cured, or, at least, much relieved. Let every one therefore contribute all that he can towards mending others, not forgetting himself.

“The *Moriæ Encomium* was translated into English by Thomas Chaloner, A. 1549.” *Wood*, vol. i. c. 149.

Erasmus hath made an apology for this ludicrous piece, in his *Adages*, C. 460. xl.

## C. 402.

Erasmus, in his Dedication to More, mentions:

———*Grunnii Corocottæ porcelli testamentum.*

This testament was first published by J. Alex. Brassicanus; and afterwards inserted at the end of the *Adages* of Erasmus, in some interpolated editions of that work. See Fabricius, *Bibl. Lat.* tom. ii. p. 538. 4to. ed.

## C. 475. Not. 6.

Here Erasmus, or Listrius, treats *Bel and the Dragon*, *Susanna*, and *The Song of the three Children*, as apocryphal and spurious.

*Ad Philippum Panegyricus.*

This oration was presented by Erasmus to Philip, Duke of Burgundy, at Brussels, in the year 1504. In it he takes occasion to argue copiously against war, and in favour of peace.

He hath passed a censure upon the English, which one would not have expected from him:

Annon videmus, ut inter feras, ita et inter nationes hominum, ferocissimas quasque, maximeque barbaras, pugnacissimas esse? sicuti Cares, Scythas, et *Britannos*.

But as he hath not spared us, so neither hath he spared the Spaniards:

Ut facile hinc evanuit superstitiosus ille meticolus, qui nonnullos ceperat, ne te remitteret Hispania ferociorem.——— Audent jam certissimam in spem ingredi, te perpetuo popularem principem, et ab omni specie tyrannidis alienissimum futurum, quem non exempla regnorum ostensa corrumpere potuerint, in quibus dominatus ac servitutis plurimum est, libertatis atque æqualitatis minimum.

Here observe, upon the word *meticolus*, that Erasmus often takes the liberty to use unclassical *diminutives*; which is not allowable.

In a following Epistle to Joannes Paludanus, he defends his Panegyric against some impertinent censurers, and says of himself, amongst other things, that he never was a flatterer.

A quo profecto vitio, te in primis teste, sic abhorruī semper, ut ne possim quidem adulari cuiquam si velim, neque velim si possim. Proinde nihil vereor, ne crimen istud in meos hæreat mores, apud eos qui tecum Erasmm intus et in cute norunt.

Then follows a copy of verses in praise of Philip, and two Epistles, one to Nicolaus Ruterius; the other to Joannes Sylvagius, A. 1518.

† *Institutio Principis Christiani.*

This book is dedicated to Charles, afterwards Charles V, and it contains excellent precepts.

He judges very well of the forms of civil government, when he says:

Si princeps contingat omnibus absolutus virtutibus, optanda sit pura ac simplex monarchia; verum quando id haud scio an umquam contingat, quin potius magnum et exoptandum, si detur mediocris, ut nunc sunt res hominum, præstiterit monarchiam aristocratiae et democratiae admixtam temperari diluique, ne quando in tyrannidem erumpat, sed quemadmodum elementa vicissim sese librant, ita simili moderamine consistat res publica. C. 576.

Bona pars imperii, consensus est populi: ea res primo reges peperit. C. 609.

Nothing, says he, disgusts a people more, than a prince who leaves them to ramble abroad.

Nihil æque multitudinis animum alienat a principe, quam si foris agere gaudeat, quod negligi videatur ab eo, cui præcipue vellet esse curæ. Tum quòd exigitur, quoniam alibi consumitur, perire sibi putat; nec principi dari vectigal interpretatur, sed alienis prædam objici. Proinde neque patriæ quidquam molestius aut perniciosius, neque principi periculosius quam longinquæ peregrinationes, præsertim si diuturnæ sint. Nam ea res omnium opinione, et Philippum

† See Burigni, tom. i. p. 307, &c.

nobis ademit, et non minus afflixit ditionem illius, quam bellum tot jam annos cum Gelriis actum. C. 590. He repeats the same observations in the *Querela Pacis*, C. 637.

He hath not forgotten, we may be sure, to treat copiously of the mischiefs of war, C. 607.

*Isocrates ad Nicoclem.*

Translated by Erasmus.

*Declamatio de Morte.*

A consolatory discourse, intended as a pattern for young students, who are to compose declamations.

*Declamatiuncula.*

An exercise of the same kind.

*Querela Pacis.*

Dedicated to Philip, bishop of Utrecht.

This is a declamation, upon a subject which Erasmus always had at heart, upon the advantages of peace, and the evils of war.

C. 627.

— Impii Spiritus, per quos cœlitum atque hominum concordia primum dirupta est, et hodie rumpitur, tamen inter se fœdus habent, suamque illam qualemcumque tyrannidem consensu tuentur: solos homines, &c. Milton hath the same thought:

O shame to men! Devil with devil damn'd  
Firm concord holds, men only disagree, &c.

Both took the hint from the Scriptures: *If Satan cast out Satan, how should his kingdom stand?* Homer's gods, who are a sort of devils, fight together with the utmost animosity.

He mentions Maximilian as living: therefore this piece was written before A. 1519.

*Hieron.*

This is a translation of a very pretty Dialogue of Xenophon.

*Precatio ad Dominum Jesum, pro Pace Ecclesie.*

He composed this in the year 1532.

*Lingua.*

“The Praise of Folly, and the Treatise on the Tongue, are the two most considerable works in the fourth Tome. As in the first of these tracts he introduceth Folly making a jest of all professions, and speaking boldly on every subject; in the second he teacheth us what use we ought to make of our tongue, and in what different ways it is commonly abused. Each of these Discourses abounds with wit, and with ingenious censures of the vices of his times, particularly those of the monks, who spared him as little in their sermons and in their writings.

The difference between him and them was, that he named no persons, and only attacked vices in general, with a view to correct them; whilst the monks attacked him directly, and represented him as a libertine and an atheist, to ruin him if they could. These men, though none of them be particularly pointed out and named, will not bear to be publicly told of their faults, and still less will they be persuaded to mend their manners. Erasmus had not the pleasure of reclaiming them by his exhortations; and the great change, which in his days befell the state of religion, had no other effect upon them than this; that in those countries where monkery was little esteemed, they concealed some of their grosser misdemeanours; but where no person presumed to contradict them, as in Italy and Spain, Erasmus, if he were to return to life, would find them just such as he left them.” *Le Clerc, Bibl. Chois. i. 397.*

The Dedication of the *Lingua* is to Schydlovietz, chancellor of Poland, A. 1525.

He lashes the priests of his time, who, as he says, were frequently drunk, when they baptized children, or heard confessions.

Nunc plerosque videmus ebrios baptizare pueros, ebrios audire confessiones.—Ante annos non ita multos accidit quod dicam: Quidam exorsus apud hujusmodi sacerdotem, ubi sensit hominem altum dormire, surrexit atque abiit in-

terrupto sermone. Hoc digresso, successit alter. Cumque rursus obdormisset, excitavit hominem confitens, *Non, inquit, audis quæ dico?* Ille somno delirus, existimans eundem hunc esse, qui prius cœperat confiteri, *Imo probe audio, inquit: dixeras te effregisse scrinium vicini tui. Penge cœtera dicere.* Hoc meminerat ex confessione prioris, velut insigne, tametsi dormitans ac semisomnis. At confessor ille incanduit, negans se unquam scriniorum fuisse perfossorem. Hoc casu, qui successit, rescivit superioris arcanum.

Menage, I think, tells a story of such a priest, who being so much in liquor that he could not find the office for baptism in his Missal, said to the company: *This child is very hard to christen.*

## C. 692.

He complains of the multiplicity of oaths, which were required on various occasions, and served only to multiply perjuries. Alas! the same complaints may still be made.

## C. 709.

He extolls Thomas à Becket: So little was he acquainted with his history and true character!

## C. 740.

Referam quod ipse vidi in *Italia*, sed ita ne quem attingam aut adspergam suspicione. Aderam tribus *Græcis*, quorum unus erat monachus, alter eruditus mediocriter, tertius puer tredecim ferme natus annos. Monachus oblivione prætermiserat horam prandii. Itaque curatum est a nobis ut cibi nonnihil adferretur. Ille contentus erat duobus ovis, nec passus est adferri plus eduliorum, bibit item quam parcissime. Ipse mihi semper visus est vir modestus ac bonus, nec incurius sacrarum literarum, tametsi præter vulgatam *Græcorum* linguam nihil noverat. Cultus erat tam vilis, tam horridus et squalidus, ut existimem Hilariorem illum cultius amictum fuisse. Hactenus omnia digna monacho. At non respondebant hujus convivii bellaria. Amoto cibo reditum est ad fabulas. Doctus ille protulit libellum *Græce* scriptum, in quo referebantur miracula.



Ferunt autem apud *Græcos* hunc esse morem, ut sacerdos a sacro recitet apud populum, si quod alicubi miraculum accidit. Hoc quidam Satanæ discipulus fuerat imitatus, sic ut eadem esset præfatiuncula, qua sacerdos solet excitare plebis attentionem, rursus eadem clausula, qua populus audito miraculo consuevit accinere gratias et gloriam Deo. In medio erant obscœnitates, quales apud nos vix ullum scortum auderet in balneis proloqui. Ad harum recitationem meus monachus tanquam ad rem mire festivam, mire cœpit hilarescere, gestire, solvi in cachinnos, et ad singulas obscœnitates accinebat clausulam solennem. Puer accumbebat in medio, cujus ætati conveniebant fabulæ magis pudicæ. Equidem in monacho desiderabam rectam institutionem, potius quam bonam mentem. Tales nimirum evadunt, qui nihil aliud discunt quam ceremonias. Oblatæ fuerant carnes, et erat dies quo fas erat \* aliis vesci. Ille magna religione recusabat. Nec passurus erat vestem mutari. Et in ea re quæ pertinebat ad veram pietatem, tam erat irreligiosus. Saltem adolescentuli reverentia debebat hominem a tam obscœnis jocis revocare, &c.

Erasmus here tells a remarkable story of three Greeks, one of whom, who was a monk, and a bigot, set a sad example of lewdness and profaneness. He prefaces his story with a declaration that he will point out no man, and expose no man. I was inclined to suspect that he had thrown dust in his reader's eyes, that his three *Greeks* were really three *Italians*; that the smutty book was written in *Italian*, and that in the room of *Græcis*, *Græcorum*, &c. we might substitute *Italis*, *Italorum*, &c. But, upon second thoughts, I am not quite satisfied with the conjecture.

*Carmen de Senectutis incommodis.*

See Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 24.

\* That is: *quo aliis fas erat iis vesci.*

## TOMUS V.

## PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

Ex quatuor primis voluminibus Operum Desiderii Erasmi, colligere facile possumus, doctissimum juxta ac humanissimum ætatis suæ virum fuisse; verum ex hoc demum intelligere licet, quam magnus theologus fuerit, et quanto renna divinarum amore eruditissimus ejus animus arserit. Hic enim potissima ejus opera habemus, quæ ad instituendum hominem Christianum in meliore theologia, et ad pietatem promovendum spectant; quod dum agit Erasmus, ex re ipsa, et tota styli ratione emicant ex religiosæ indolis sciatiillæ, ut liqueat hominem, quod conatur aliis persuadere, intimis antea medullis ipsum imbibisse. Spirat ubique non cæcam superstitionem, sed cœlesti luce illustratam pietatem, quæ non in minutis quibusdam cæremoniis sita est, quibus defungi etiam possunt homines nequam, sed in ea morum sanctimonia, quæ in solis vere bonis conspicua est. Hinc jam olim plures ex hisce libellis in varias linguas transtulerunt pii juxta et eruditi viri, ut ab omnibus lectitarentur; excuterenturque, si fieri posset, e manibus imperitorum inepti libelli, qui inanis superstitionis vinculis animos eorum irretiebant. Galli, Angli, Belgæ, Hispani, et Poloni vernaculas in linguas translatos habuerunt, ab optimis et doctissimis quibusque plebi diligenter commendatos. Utinam vero etiamnum hodie qui militiam sequuntur, nunquam e manibus deponerent libellum, quo inchoatur hoc volumen, et quem inscripsit Erasmus *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*! Profecto non videremus tot homines, in Christianorum exercitiis, qui milites quidem fortasse vocari queant, sed an in censum Christianorum venire possint nescio. Utinam etiam omnes Christiani orbis theologi semper in sinu gestarent opusculum *De ratione Vera Theologiæ*! cum in eo plus sit sani succi, et rectæ Theologiæ, quam in multis crassis voluminibus aliorum, sine dubio in animis legentium aculeum relinqueret, et pro tot captiosis, contentiosisque tricis, utilia dogmata et monita auditorum suorum animis instillaret. Sunt et hic alii libelli lectu dig-

nissimi, et præsertim quidem *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio*, et *Vidua Christiana*, quas operæ pretium esset iterum in linguas vernaculas verti ab hominibus peritis, propter mutationem, quæ linguis hodiernis, a temporibus Erasmi, ad hanc nostram ætatem, contigit; ut elegantia sermonis politiores etiã et delicatuli homines, qui Latina legere nequeunt, ad eorum lectionem allicerentur. Interea Latine docti, quorum bibliothecis deerant, eos in succum suum convertant, atque inde indoctis animi alimentum, quo indigent, impertiantur. Quæ non dico, quasi omnia omnino, quæ hoc volumine leguntur, aut omnibus placere velim, aut mihi etiã prorsus et sine exceptione ulla probentur. Satis est, si modo longe maxima pars Christianis propemodum omnibus placeat, et utilis esse possit. Propter majorem partem, quæ, sine dubio, optima est, par est alia, quæ minus placeat, feramus, quicumque simus. Quidni enim erga tantum virum eandem adhibeamus æquitatem, qua utimur erga plerosque veterum, quorum scripta, quamvis per omnia nobis non probentur, nihilo secius laudamus et extollimus? Ego certe ob præstantiam doctrinæ, quæ passim hic occurrit, salubritatemque præceptorum, quæ subinde leguntur in hoc volumine, cætera omnia minime difficulter fero, et censeo ab omnibus ferenda. Vale.

• *Enchiridion Militis Christiani.*

Cum anno 1618. Lovaniï ederetur, præfixit ei Erasmus pulcherrimam Epistolam, quæ est 329, in Editione nostra Voluminis Epistolarum, ad quod eam postea amandari voluit Erasmus. In ea graphicis coloribus pingit eorum religionem, qui theologiam Christianam sitam volebant in argutiis scholasticis, pietatemque, institutorum humanorum, rituumque frigidorum observationem, esse putabant. Data erat illa Epistola ad Paulum Volzium, abbatem in monasterio Benedicti Ordinis, quod dicebatur Curia Hugonis, vulgo *Haugshofen*, ad Selestadium Alsatiaë urbem. Is Volzius cum A. 1539, incidisset in Joannem Calvinum Argentorati, ab eo edoctus, Calvinî sententiam amplexus est, et s. ministerii munere, ad obitum usque, in ea urbe functus; ut testatur Theod. Beza, in Vita Calvinî. *Clericus.*

• Life of Erasm. vol. i. p. 18.

“ The Sorbonne condemned the *Enchiridion*, in 1543, and in the same year the parliament of Paris ordered that, and many other prohibited books, to be burned. Which was done near the porch of the church of Nôtre Dame, at the sound of the great bell. But this *Enchiridion* was the French one, translated by Berquin, and it differed much from the original.” *Burigni*, tom. i. p. 306. See also p. 288, &c.

Tindall translated the *Enchiridion* into English. See Holland’s *Heroolog*. p. 148.

### C. 29.

Erasmus recommends the study of the mystical and allegorical senses of scripture. He himself runs too much into them, in his religious treatises, imitating the fathers, who abound with such spiritualized baubles. He commends, as adepts and masters of this fantastical science, Dionysius, commonly called the Areopagite, (but Erasmus had too much judgment to imagine that he was really the Areopagite) and St. Augustin, two egregious triflers in that way, if ever there were any triflers in the world. He commends also Origen, who walked, as he says, in the steps of St. Paul.

#### *Epistola ad Adolphum, &c.*

This Epistle is an exhortation to learning and virtue. At the same time, Erasmus sent this young nobleman some manuscript prayers, for his use.

Fuit Adolphus filius Philippi a Burgundia, et † Annæ Borsellæ (*Bersalam* vocat Erasmus) feminæ præstantissimæ, et erga Erasmum beneficæ, qui eam sæpe laudat in Epistolis. Erat ex nobilissima familia Borsellorum, aut Borsalorum, quæ in Zelandia habuit magna prædia, et præsertim Veriam urbem, quæ vulgo *Ter-veer*: quamobrem Adolphum *Veriensem Principem* vocat Erasmus. Philippus à Burgundia, pater Adolphi, filius fuit Antonii à Burgundia; quem Philippus, Burgundiæ dux, cognomine *Bonus*, ex illegitimo concubitu susceperat. *Clericus*.

† Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 13.

*Ratio Veræ Theologiæ.*

It is dedicated to the cardinal *S. Chrysogoni*, A. 1518, and it contains excellent instructions for students in divinity. Joannes Caius published an Epitome of this treatise, and also an English translation of the paraphrase of Erasmus on the Epistle of St. Jude. *Holland. Heroolog.* p. 183.

## C. 112.

Audiamus Paulum ita vaticinantem — *In novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, et erunt homines seipsos amantes, cupidi, elati, &c. habentes speciem quidem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegantes.*—Obsecro te, lector, an non tibi videtur digito demonstrare quosdam ex istorum ordinibus, qui ipsius mundi visceribus immixti, monachos se vocant, et regum luxum, fastum, ac tyrannidem affectantes, mendicitatem prætexunt, &c.

## C. 115.

He treats the miracles wrought in his days with the contempt which they deserved.

Christus raro edidit miracula, quæ præter admirationem nihil haberent utilitatis, qualia fere sunt, quæ nunc fingunt de divis.

## C. 116.

He cites the *Three that bear witness in heaven*, &c. as though it were a true reading. At other times he hath given it up as spurious, or extremely suspicious.

## C. 134.

At inter nos quot quæstiones extiterunt, quot opiniones, quot sectæ disputantium, utrum Christus individuum hominis adsumserit, an speciem, an tertio quodam modo dicatur deus et homo. Atque hac de re cum inter veteres parum convenerit, nuper etiam exortus est *quidam*, qui reprobatis superiorum opinionibus, novam viam indicet.

I know not whom Erasmus means by this *quidam*.

*Paraclesis, id est, Adhortatio ad Christianæ Philosophiæ studium.*

Then follows:

*Exomologesis, sive, Modus Confitendi.*

Dedicated to Franciscus Molinus, bishop of Condom, A. 1524.

In this treatise, he recommends an annual confession of sins to the priest, not as a precept of our Saviour or his Apostles, yet as an antient, laudable, and useful practice; and then gives some directions for the manner of performing it.

But when he proceeds to show, on the other hand, the inconveniences and the evils of auricular confession, he produceth arguments, to which it would be hard to give a reasonable reply; so that he who should be disposed to write against such confessions, would find plenty of materials in this very work.

*Enarratio Primi Psalmi.*

Dedicated to his good friend Beatus Rhenanus, A. 1515.

In this discourse he condemns the Arians; and censures the pride, rapaciousness, avarice, and other vices of the bishops of his age, and the sordid and wicked arts by which they rose to those stations.

He exhorts all persons to read the Scriptures, which, as he says, ought to be translated into vulgar tongues, and put into the hands of the vulgar. He hath made the same remarks in many other places; and to this opinion he pretty constantly adhered. He exhorts the common people not to have an implicit faith in their teachers, nor to suffer themselves to be led by the nose, like bears.

He was deceived by a very foolish story, adopted by Gregory Nazianzen, Prudentius, and others, that Cyprian, before his conversion, had been a magician. See Tillemont, H. E. tom. iv. p. 1.

*Commentarius in Psalmum Secundum.*

He makes a judicious remark on the writings of the Rabbins:

Ego, ut non in totum damno videre quid adferant Hebræorum interpretes, præsertim antiqui, ita non arbitror illis esse multum tribuendum, quum animadvertam horum

commentarios fere fumis ac fabulis anilibus refertos, ne quid interim dicam de studio falsandi nostra, odioque Christi.

He commends Thomas à Becket for a behaviour which was ambiguous, and upon which he puts the most favourable construction :

Divus Thomas Episcopus Cantuariensis, quum esset ad eum honorem auctoritate Regis admotus, ipse vero hactenus magis in aulicis negotiis, quam in sacris literis fuisset detritus, intelligens quantum oneris suscepisset in humeros, tanta celeritate properavit *apprehendere disciplinam*, ut quum in ea gente solenne sit, ut archiepiscopus ille, totius regni primas, proceres aulicos accipiat convivio, magnatibus suas mensas affatim instrueret iis rebus, quibus animo obsequerentur suo, ne parcus aut sordidus videretur, cæterum ipse ad suam mensam neminem admisit præter eruditos aliquot. Toto convivio lector sonabat ad aurem, aut si quid incidisset, de sensu scripturæ disputabatur. Adeo nullum tempus patiebatur sibi intercidere, quod non daretur apprehendendæ disciplinæ. Utinam hos versiculos episcopi nostrorum temporum omnes frequenter psallant !

*Paraphrasis in Tertium Psalmum.*

Addressed to Melchior Viandalus, a divine, who in a letter to him had earnestly pressed him to write upon the Psalms. A. 1524.

*Concio in Quartum Psalmum.*

Dedicated to John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, A. 1525.

*Enarratio Psalmi XIV.*

*De Puritate Tabernaculi, sive Ecclesiæ Christianæ.*

Dedicated to Christophorus Eschenveldius, A. 1586.

C. 311.

Qui caste vivit cum legitima conjuge, par turturum immolat Domino : qui gemit desiderio vitæ cœlestis, et simplicitatem amplectitur in omnibus, par columbarum obtulit.

This is better than the allegorical interpretation of Eusebius, in his Commentaries on the Psalms, who observes, τὸς τὸν μετρηθῆναι βίον ἐπανηρημένους εἶναι στυβίον, τὰς δὲ τῶν αἰδοποιῶν

καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς οἰκονομίας πρόνοιαν πεποιημένους τὴν τρυγῶνα, &c. that they who embrace the *monastic* life are the *sparrows*; and they who marry, and have children, and mind domestic affairs, are the *doves*, p. 519. Eusebius inadvertently exposed himself, and his friends the monks, to much ridicule, by this unlucky comparison. In the French language, the allegory and the allusion would have been still more diverting, from the similitude of names, *moines* and *moineaux*.

*Enarratio Psalmi XXII.*

Dedicated to Lord Rochford. See Life of Erasmus, p. 49.

*Consultatio de Bello Turcico, A. 1530.*

Addressed to Joannes Rinckus.

In this treatise he deplores the great wickedness and the grievous calamities of the times, and exhorts Christians to repentance and amendment. He gives some account of the Turks, who, from being a despicable crew of ruffians, were become a most formidable people, not so much by their own conduct and valour, as by the follies and vices of the Christians. Then he shows that it is lawful for Christians to wage war with such an enemy, and with any enemy in defence of their own lives and fortunes, and gives abundance of good advice upon the subject, advice which never was, and never will be followed, unless perhaps hereafter, in the Millennium.

*Enarratio Psalmi XXXIII.*

Dedicated to Conrad, bishop of Wirtemberg, A. 1530.

In this discourse are many good things, mixed however with many allegorical and far-fetched interpretations. He hath some remarks which do not at all favour the invocation of saints :

Quamquam nec præceptum ullum nec exemplum hujus rei reperitur in Sacris Literis, sive Vetus Testamentum excutias, sive Novum. Cæterum si quis existimet quemquam divorum posse quod Christus non possit, aut quemquam esse Deo magis exorabilem, is magna tenetur super-



stitutione, ne dicam impietate.—Tutissimum autem simul et optimum est, quod nos docuit Spiritus Sanctus: Potius est quod præcepit Christus, quam quod induxerunt homines, &c.

*Enarratio Psalmi XXXVIII.*

Dedicated to Stanislaus Turzo, Bishop of Olmutz, A. 1532.

*Enarratio Psalmi LXXXIII. De amabili Ecclesiæ concordia.*

Dedicated to his learned friend Julius Pflug, A. 1533.

“Richard Taverner published an introduction to a Christian concord in matters of religion, translated from Erasmus *De sarcienda Ecclesiæ concordia.*” Wood, vol. i. C. 184.

C. 476.

Magis deplorandum est, quod, nostra etiam memoria, reperta sunt conventicula, in quibus noctu post decantatas Dei laudes, extinctis lucernis, promiscuo venere viri cum sceminis miscebantur.

It is probable that Erasmus too lightly adopted false rumours spread by persecutors against people called heretics, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

C. 484.

Speaking of the origin of monkery, he says:

Divus Basilius legitur monachos, qui in solitudinibus procul ab hominum commercio degebant, ad urbana sodalitia revocasse; quod vir prudens intelligeret illorum plerisque non evadere vere pios, sed superciliosos, falsa sanctimonie persuasione turgidos, irritabiles, vindices, morosos, sensus communis expertes, et ad omnem vitæ functionem ineptos. Fatetur idem Chrysostomus, &c. And

C. 490.

Sunt qui putant Franciscanos in altiore gradu consistere, quod seminudis incedant pedibus, quod pecunias non contingant. Rursus sunt qui his præferant Dominicanos, quod domi non vescantur carnibus. Utrisque præferunt Benedictinos, qui et pluribus horis canunt in templis, nec unquam

domo procedunt. Jam inter omnes summum gradum obtinent, qui lorica ferrea pro indusio cutem defricant, &c.

C. 499.

He proposeth a scheme of pacification, toleration, and mutual condescension between Papists and Protestants.

*In Psalmum LXXXV. Expositio Concionalis.*

Dedicated to the bishop of Lincoln, A. 1528. Joanni Longlondo. It should have been *Longlando*.

*De Misericordia Domini Concio.*

Dedicated to Christopher, Bishop of Basil, A. 1524.

C. 579.

He approves the invocation of Saints:

Si non audes compellare Jesum, si non potes contingere Jesum, saltem furtim continge fimbriam: adito sanctum aliquem, in quo relucet pietas ista, ut suis precibus te commendet misericordi Domino. Per hos enim exserit sæpe virtutem suam, undequaque paratus ad conferendam omnibus salutem.

But it is not clear, whether he means departed Saints, or good men living upon earth.

*Virginis et Martyris comparatio.*

This discourse is dedicated

*Helix Marce Collegii Machabæorum Moderatori:*  
and likewise,

*Collegio Virginum Machabæiticarum apud Coloniam Agrippinam, A. 1524.*

These nuns had sent him some sweet-meats, desiring the favour of his instructions, and he repaid them with this discourse.

*Concio de Puero Jesu.*

This was made to be spoken by a boy of St. Paul's School.

*Epistola Consolatoria Virginibus Franciscanis, juxta Cantabrigiam.*

If the nuns to whom Erasmus addressed some of his treatises were capable of understanding them and the lan-

guage in which they were written, they must have had an excellent education.

“They to whom Erasmus writes this epistle were the nuns at Denny-abby, near Cambridge, whom he looked upon as virtuous and good; and who did to the last preserve a good character for their order and discipline, while their neighbouring sisters of St. Radegund at Cambridge had, till their dissolution, just the contrary.—Erasmus here makes mention of two sisters of the family of the Greys, or Dorset family, to whose brother he had very early been a tutor, as Wolsey had also been to two of the brothers in Magdalen college, Oxford.” Knight, p. 292.

*Christiani Matrimonii Institutio.*

Dedicated to our queen Catharine, A. 1526.

“This is a copious and accurate work. Erasmus considers marriage as a canonist, a civilian, a philosopher, and a divine, and then proceeds to the education of children.

C. 622.

He mentions, and seems to approve, the charitable judgment of Gerson, concerning the state of infants who die unbaptized:

*Nec defuerunt homines eruditi, quorum est Joannes Gerson, quibus visa est opinio non omnino rejicienda, si quis hanc spem conceperit ex divinæ misericordiæ magnitudine, infantes ex piis parentibus ortos, si quo casu contingat citra culpam hominis, absque baptismi munere decedere, non omnino dedendos esse suppliciis æternis. Verum utcumque de hoc judicavit Ecclesia; nam meam hic sententiam non interpono, &c.*

C. 649.

He condemns clandestine marriages, both here and in many other places, and thinks that they ought to be dissolved.

*Recte quidem Ecclesiæ leges damnant clandestina conjugia, sed utinam hisce temporibus sic damnarent, ut furtim contracta pro non contractis haberentur, nisi majorum acce-*

“Du Pin, xiv. 64.

deret auctoritas, et solemnis utrimque stipulatio, quod olim apud censores fieri solitum, nec sine jurejurando, supra demonstravimus. Nullum, opinor, in sacris literis exemplum inveniri, filios familias, aut pupillos clam iis, in quorum potestatibus sunt, contraxisse matrimonium, quod illis reclamantibus valuerit, &c.

## C. 652.

In the time of the apostles, says he, *Idem erat episcopus, sacerdos, et presbyter.*

## C. 668.

He gives an amazing description of the wickedness, insolence, and outrageous tyranny of the nobility in those times, and treats his *ruffians of quality* as they deserved, and reproves the folly of rich plebeians, who were ambitious of marrying their girls to beggarly and debauched patricians. But this seems to be one of the follies, of which the world will never be cured; and happy is the commoner,

Whose daughter flaunts a viscount's tawdry wife!

Nunc apud nonnullas nationes inane nobilitatis nomen impunitatem adfert scelerum. Etenim si piraticam aut latrocinium exerceat plebeius, in rotam subigitur: si eques, aut qui minimum nobilitatis possit fingere, et si quam habet turriculam, latronum speluncam, bellum appellatur, quod aliquoties indicit is, qui pedem ubi ponat non habet. Unde talibus jus indicendi belli? unde jus sub belli simulati prætextu, in publicis viis, in alienis ditionibus spoliare quoslibet? Quoties ad aleam, scortationes, potationes deest pecunia, ad belli titulum confugitur, et hostis est, quisquis habet aliquid ad prædam idoneum. Principes, ac præcipue Cæsar, optime mereretur de rebus mortalium, si talia portenta tolleret de medio, cum suis equis et turribus, nec sineret illis in facinore deprehensis in aliud prodesse generis titulum, nisi ut velut eminentes in altiore rotam tollerentur. O parentum dementia! qui putant rectius consultum filiæ, si tali equiti nupserit, quam si bono agricolæ aut perito fabro. Et inani nobilitatis fucō decepti, malunt generum; qui bene parta male dissipet, quam qui sua industria rem traditam servet augeatque. Hic puellis poterat ignosci. Sexus et

ætas gloriæ cupientior est, nec valet rerum iudicio, sed tantum quod in præsens delectat, spectat. Parentibus venia dari non potest, qui postea turpiter deplorant calamitatem, quam excludere poterant. Etenim quum tot exstent exempla sic initorum conjugiorum, debebant ex alienis periculis sapere. Valeat igitur nobilitatis inane nomen vel facinoribus partæ, vel malefactis inquinatæ, vel ementitæ vel adscititiæ. Ementiri nobilitatem impostorum est, quod tamen faciunt nonnulli, quo peccent excusatius tutiusque. Emere nobilitatem stultorum est, veluti fumo gloriantium, quum sapiens veram etiam nobilitatem contemnat: et tamen aliquid est e claris probisque majoribus prognatum esse, &c.

Here Erasmus assuredly describes, though he names them not, his *quondam* friend Hutten, who was just such a beggarly knight and ruffian, and his other friend Eppendorf, who falsely pretended to be noble.

## C. 696.

He censures the painters and statuaries for the indecency and immodesty of many of their works:

*Membraque* (read *quæ*) verecundiæ gratia celas ne videntur, cur in tabula nudas? — Addunt artifices quidam etiam verecundis argumentis de suo nequitiam. Etenim, quum pingunt aliquid ex evangelica historia, affingunt impias ineptias: velut quum exprimunt Dominum apud Martham ac Mariam exceptum convivio, interea dum Dominus loquitur cum Maria, fingunt Joannem adolescentem clam in angulo fabulantem cum Martha, Petrum exsiccantem *cantarum* (read *cantharum*). Rursus in convivio Martham a tergo assistentem Joanni, altera manu injecta humeris, altera velut irridente Christum, qui nihil horum sentiat. Item *Petro* (read *Petrum*) jam vino rubicundum, cyathum admovere labris. Et hæc quum blasphema sint et impia, tamen faceta multis videntur.

*Vidua Christiana.*

\* Dedicated to Mary, queen dowager of Hungary, &c. sister to Charles V.

\* Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 60.

## C. 736. and 760.

Erasmus reckons amongst the learned Christian ladies, *Sunia*, and *Frotela*, or *Fretella*, to whom St. Jerom wrote one of his epistles. But *Sunnia* and *Fretella* were of the male sex, though their names had a feminine aspect. Baker, in his *Reflections upon Learning*, hath censured Father Simon, for making this mistake; and seems not to have known that Erasmus had fallen into the same error.

*If Father Simon have any doubt of the thing, I have the epistle of Jerom now before me (says Baker) in two very fair manuscripts; in both which it is, Dilectissimis fratribus Sunniæ et Fretellæ.*

But, with Mr. Baker's leave, his argument taken from the word *fratribus* is not quite conclusive: for if *Sunnia* and *Fretella* had been *brother* and *sister*, Jerom might have addressed himself to them, *Dilectissimis fratribus*. His argument from Jerom's letter, which is full of Greek and Hebrew, and of critical erudition, is more satisfactory.

By the way, Father Simon seems to have corrected his mistake, without owning it, in his *Nouvelles Observations*, printed at Paris in 1695. He says: *Il n'y a qu'à lire la lettre (de S. Jérôme) à Sunia et Fretila.*—*Ils lui avoit demandé comment il falloit traduire, &c.* p. 199.

*Ecclesiastes, sive de Ratione Concionandi.*

<sup>2</sup> This treatise is divided into four books, and is dedicated to Christophorus Stadius, bishop of Augsburg, A. 1535.

It is full of good instructions for the clergy, and for all young persons who intend to take orders.

## C. 798.

Hanc sacram functionem qui sibi vel usurpant temere, vel administrant indigne, non exuruntur igne cœlesti, non obruuntur subita morte, non lepra *suffodiuntur*; sed cum corpore simul et anima conjiciuntur in ignem æternum.

Perhaps, *suffunduntur*.

<sup>1</sup> P. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Du Pin, xiv. 65.

## C. 810.

Quod si nunc quoque singulis civitatibus singuli præesent episcopi, tamen hoc etiam negotium quam sit difficile, — declarat Chrysostomus. — Quantum igitur negotii credimus esse, cum, præter vicos et pagos, viginti frequentes et amplæ civitates uni parent antistiti. Sit hoc leve; unius humeris imponuntur quatuor aut quinque tales episcopatus, cum aliquot abbatii annexis. Quis non fateatur hanc sarcinam esse majorem humanis viribus? Atque hæc quoque conduplicatur profanæ ditionis accessione.

He seems to have had in view, besides other ecclesiastics, cardinal Wolsey, who had been a scandalous pluralist.

## C. 814.

He expresseth his hopes that if Christian missionaries would preach the gospel to infidels in a proper manner, God might enable them perhaps to work miracles, if it were necessary.

## C. 821.

He did not like the custom of kissing the pope's foot.

— Liquet olim episcopos—summo in pretio fuisse.— Testantur hoc manuum, genuum, ac vestium oscula. Nam pedum apud veteres scriptores non memini legerè.

## C. 824.

He informs us that domestic chaplains were very ill treated in the families of some noblemen.

Nec ille mos probandus, quem in quibusdam potentium familiis videmus. Sacerdos, mantili injecto humeris, cherniba sustinet, et pransuris infundit aquam, totoque convivio stans aperto capite ministrat laicis accumbentibus. Sed ut ad hunc modum eviluerint sacerdotes, ipsi magna ex parte sunt in causa, qui, dum se præbent laicis, quam sacerdotibus similiores, a laicis contemnuntur.

## C. 840.

“ It may not be here unserviceable to our English antiquaries, to touch upon the ludicrous and superstitious

customs which were prevalent about these times, <sup>a</sup> and of which Erasmus gives us the following account either from good authority, or his own observation, while he was here in England. The first he mentions (which I presume he had from dean Colet) was a popular custom, or fury rather, in his church of St. Paul's, which extremely offended the dean, and yet he knew not how to restrain it, for fear of incensing the multitude, and creating some greater mischief.

*Amongst the English at London (says he) there is a custom, that on such a day, (viz. St. Paul's Conversion) the people, in a sort of wild procession, bring into the church of St. Paul's the head of a kind of deer frequent in that island, fixed upon the top of a long spear or pole, with the whole company blowing hunters' horns in a hideous manner: and so in this rude pomp they go up to the high altar, and offer it there. You would think them all the mad votaries of Diana. What should the pastor or prelate of the church do in such a case? If he oppose it, why then the claim of custom is a violent thing, and to attempt the stopping of such a flood shall raise a tumult or insurrection of worse consequence than it will be to connive at a perverse and inveterate custom.*

This, which was at first probably a pagan custom, continued to the Reformation.—Though the church was now

<sup>a</sup> Jam quod populus habeat ubique suas quasdam peculiarias ineptias, veluti sodalitates, et comotationes in templis, supersticiosas circumlationes Divorum, velut apud Flandrios Livini et Winochi, ludosque ridiculos, qui sic diutina consuetudine invaluerunt, ut absque tumultu non facile queant abrogari, et si abrogentur, periculum est ne abrogatis succedant ineptiora, pastor ab hujusmodi spectaculis sese subducatur; vel hoc modo significans sibi non probari quæ geruntur. Quoniam autem in diversis regionibus diversæ sunt hujusmodi ludorum formæ, ut lector intelligat quid velim, unam atque alteram exempli causa proferam. Apud Anglos mos est Londini, ut certo die populus in summum templum Paulo sacrum inducat longo bastili impositum caput feræ (damas illic quidam appellant, vulgus capros, quum revera sit hircorum genus cornibus palmatis, in ea insula abundans) cum inamœno sonitu cornuum venatoriorum. Hac pompa proceditur ad summum altare: dicas omnes adflatos furore Delicæ. Quid hic faciat pastor? Si reclamet, violenta res est consuetudo, ac citius aliquid seditionis excitet, quam medeatur malo. *Ecclesiast.*



dedicated to the memory of St. Paul, yet they seemed willing not to forget the goddess Diana, to whom, we are told, in this very place was antiently a temple erected, and that in the time of Melitus the first bishop of London. Ethelbert, king of Kent, built a church to the honour of St. Paul, where before stood a temple of Diana, as an antient manuscript in the Cotton library tells us: *Immolat Dianæ Londonia: thurificat Apollini suburbana Thorneia*, Thorney is now Westminster. Sir W. Dugdale, in his History of St. Paul's church, tells us that there was a great manor held by the service of the offering a doe, at the high altar, on the Conversion of St. Paul: which, though it doth not wholly excuse the custom, yet however doth somewhat apologize for it. But it is certain that many intolerable abuses, besides this, crept into the church by degrees, and the superstitions were so multiplied, that wise and good men could not away with them, and often fell under trouble for, what they could not help, inveighing against them. The same author mentions that there was a signal grant by sir William le Baud, knight, in 3 Edward I. of a doe yearly in winter, on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul, and of a fat buck in summer, upon the day of the Commemoration of the same Saint, to be offered at the high altar by the said sir William, and his family, and then to be distributed amongst the canons resident: which said doe and buck were so given by the said sir William, in lieu of twenty-two acres of land lying within the lordship of Westlee in com. Essex, belonging to the said canons, and by them granted to him and his heirs, to be inclosed within his park of Toringham, whereunto they lay adjacent. This was afterwards confirmed by his son sir Walter le Baud, by his deed of the ides of July, 30 Edward I. Unto this grant were witnesses sir Nicholas de Wokyndon, sir Richard de la Rokele, sir Thomas de Maundevel, and sir John Rochford, knights, &c. The reception of which doe and buck was, till queen Elizabeth's days, performed at the steps of the quire by the canons of this cathedral, attired in their sacred vestments, and wearing garlands of flowers on their heads: and the horns of the buck carried on the top of a spear, in pro-

cession round about in the body of the church, with a great noise of horn-blowers, as the learned Camden upon his own view affirmed. Vid. p. 17. Dug. Hist. of St. Paul's.

Mr. Strype in his Ecclesiastical Memorials under Queen Mary, p. 278. says more relating to this odd custom (*viz.*) that the last day of June, 1557, (which confirms its being kept up till queen Elizabeth) was St. Powel's (Paul's) Day, i. e. commemoration of a privilege: and at St. Paul's London, was a goodly procession. For there was a priest of every parish of the diocese city, I suppose, he means) of London, with a cope, and the bishop of London wearing his mitre; and after, according to an old custom, came a fat buck, and his head with his horns born upon a banner pole, and forty persons blowing with the horn afore the buck, and behind.

Since we have been speaking of St. Paul's church, it may not perhaps be unacceptable to the curious, if we here present them with the picture of an earthen lamp, which was found in digging the foundation of this church. It represents the figure of a building which the late Mr. Kemp, into whose hands this lamp came, supposed to be the temple of Diana. And he was the more confirmed in this opinion, from another lamp of the same sort, which was found in the same place, and at the same time with the former, together with several boars' tusks<sup>b</sup>.

That Diana was worshipped in Gaul, we learn from <sup>c</sup> Polyænus. And as a proof of her being worshipped likewise in Britain, <sup>d</sup> Mr. Sammes takes notice of an image, that, in the year 1602, was dug out of the ground in Monmouthshire, which both by the form and dress, as likewise by an inscription found not far from it, appeared to be the figure of that goddess.

And Mr. Camden thinks it not improbable, that there was antiently a temple of Diana, where St. Paul's church now stands, from the great number of ox-heads that were found there in digging up the churchyard in the reign of king Edward the first, and were then looked upon as Gen-

<sup>b</sup> Monument. Kemp, part i. p. 179, 180. <sup>c</sup> L. viii. Strat. c. 39.

<sup>d</sup> Antiquities of Britain, p. 135.

tile sacrifices <sup>e</sup>. And in this opinion he is followed by his learned editor, by <sup>f</sup> Mr. Sammes, <sup>g</sup> Mr. Howel, and <sup>h</sup> others. Particularly the ingenious Dr. Woodward acquaints us, that he has in his collection tusks of boars, horns of oxen and of stags, as also the representation of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon the sacrificing vessels, digged up near St. Paul's church; and likewise a small image of that goddess, found not far off. <sup>i</sup> Now it appears from antient writers, that not only stags, but oxen, and swine also were sacrificed to Diana.

But I return to the lamp. The prospect of the building, as here represented, must have been taken from the south side of the river, as is plain from the largeness of the human figure standing there. The shape of the boat on the river is not unlike one published by Bayfius, which he says was drawn from an antient monument. The lamp itself being but ordinary work makes the building less correct and accurate. I offer it therefore but as a conjecture, and leave it those, who are better versed in such antiquities, to judge of it as they please; and whether, from the form, it may appear more likely to be a Roman or a British building. I shall only add, that it is no objection to its being a temple, because the front looks to the south; since we are told by Vitruvius, that although temples ought generally to be built, when the situation of the place will admit of it, with their front westward; yet <sup>k</sup> when they are placed by rivers, they should look towards the bank, as those did in Egypt which were near the Nile; and as the building here does on this lamp, the draught of which was communicated to me by the learned Mr. Ward, rhetoric professor of Gresham college; to whom I must own myself obliged for the first knowledge of this curiosity, as well as for his ingenious conjecture concerning it.

<sup>l</sup> Another custom in England in the country parishes

<sup>e</sup> Edit. Gibson.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid.

<sup>g</sup> Antiq. of Brit. p. 135.

<sup>h</sup> Londinopolis, p. 8.

<sup>i</sup> Letter to Sir C. Wren, § 83. Sir C. Wren could not come into the opinion that a temple of Diana had stood where St. Paul's was afterwards built. See Wren's Parentalia, p. 266. 296. 302, 303.

<sup>k</sup> Vitruvius, l. iv. c. 5.

<sup>l</sup> Alibi per segetes circumfertur corpus Domini, hoc indecentius

(says Erasmus) is to carry the consecrated host in procession, when they go the bounds or round the parochial limits: which looks the more indecent, because the pyx (or box wherein the consecrated wafer is enclosed) is carried by the priest on horseback. In other towns and villages the several trades and occupations have each of them their peculiar pomps and ceremonies: long poles are carried about by fellows that sweat under them, and at every step or two must have drink given them: at the top of the pole is the image of the saint who is the special patron of that particular trade or mystery. [Erasmus seems to allude to the custom of the wool-trade, celebrating the honour of bishop Blaze their founder on the third of February.] The common people have a great many other foolish sports and shows [May-games and Whitsun-ales, &c.] where maids are dressed up and led about very fine; and many things are said and done more fit to be concealed than approved.

<sup>m</sup> He speaks, in another part of the same book, of the strolling songsters and <sup>n</sup> ballad-singers, who get into great men's houses, and there sing,—but seem rather to bark than to sing, &c.

<sup>o</sup> He tells also a story of a certain superstitious lady in

quod gestatur a sacerdote equestri. In pagis, atque etiam oppidis quibusdam, opificum ordines habent pompas suas. Mali erecti gestantur a multis sudantibus ac defecturis, nisi subinde potu reficiantur: in summo est Divus, cujusque opificii præses. Habet populus et alios ludos pompasque, in quibus circumferunt spectacula, circumducuntur virgines mire cultæ, dicuntur fiuntque multa dissimulanda magis quam probanda. *Ibid.*

<sup>m</sup> Apud Italos quorundam ecclesiastarum pronuntiatio multum accedit ad pronuntiationem mendicorum aut circulatorum, qui mensa in foro posita, mira vocis dexteritate commendant nugas suas.—Apud Anglos est simile genus hominum, quales apud Italos sunt circulatorum, de quibus modo dictum est, qui irrumpunt in convivia magnatum, aut in cauponas vinarias, et argumentum aliquod, quod edidicerunt, recitant, puta mortem omnibus dominari, aut laudem matrimonii. Sed quoniam ea lingua monosyllabis fere constat, quemadmodum Germanica, atque illi studio vitant cantum, nobis latrare videntur verius quam loqui. C. 958.

<sup>n</sup> By the description which Erasmus gives of our strollers, they seem to have been rather *religious-story-tellers* than *ballad-singers*. Knight hath not translated this passage accurately.

<sup>o</sup> Novi fœminam nobilem ac prudentem, quæ sacerdoti legavit bonam

England, who left a good sum of money to a priest to say so many masses for her soul at Rome; as if Roman masses were more effectual than those said in England. Her money, says Erasmus, had been better bestowed, if she had obliged this priest never to have gone to Rome; for I knew the man very well, and, I think, he was more accustomed to sacrifice to Venus than to God.

<sup>P</sup> There was another superstitious usage of the English upon Palm-Sunday, which he also mentions. What shall we say, says he, of those, who out of England and Scotland, with vast expence, through a thousand dangers travel to Jerusalem; leaving at home their wives and children, whom they ought to take care of? When they return from Jerusalem, they are called knights of the Holy-land, and they being in a fraternity or guild of brethren, upon Palm-Sunday are very serious in the most ridiculous action: they draw a wooden ass in procession with ropes, not themselves wiser than the ass they take so much pains about." *Knight*, p. 297.

## C. 856.

In his remarks on the classic authors, and on the fathers who will teach us the art of composing and of preaching, there are many judicious observations.

## C. 873.

He condemns the invocation of the Virgin Mary at the beginning of sermons.

## C. 881.

When we celebrate some saint and martyr in our ser-

pecuniæ summam, ut annum Romæ quotidie sacrificaret, quasi missæ Romanæ sanctiores sint quam Britannicæ! Et tamen ea pecunia melius fuisset collocata, si obligasset eum sacrificum, ne umquam Romam adiret. Nam mihi familiariter notus erat, quem arbitror magis sacrificasse Vulcani conjugi, quam Deo. Tom. v. c. 1312.

<sup>P</sup> Quid dicendum de his, qui ex Angliâ et Scotia tantis impendiis per tot discrimina petunt Hierosolymam, præsertim domi relictis charissimis, quibus juxta doctrinam apostoli debent perpetuam curam?—Qui Hierosolymæ fuerunt, equites aurati vocantur, seque fraeres vocant, et in die Palmarum serio rem agunt ridiculam, fune trahentes asinum, ipsi non multum differentes ab asino ligneo, quem trahunt. *Epist. de Util. Colloq.*

mon, we may mention the miracles accompanying and following his death :

Ad insequens tempus pertinent, prodigia mortem consecuta, <sup>9</sup> et fons salubris aquæ illic exsiliens, ubi martyris caput amputatum terram contigit, aut oleum medicamentis efficax sponte resudans e monumento, aut ad martyrum monumenta profligati dæmones, quæ pro divinis testimoniis haberi debent.

Surely he could hardly say all this sincerely and *ex animo* ; but must have given it as proper for *the middle isle*, for a sermon *ad plebeculam*.

C. 962.

He passeth this censure upon Juvenal :

Juvenalis, qui satyram corruptit, et vertit in tragicam invectivam.

C. 974.

—hasta Achillis, quam nemo Græcorum ferre potuit, præter unum Patroclum.

Here his memory deceived him; for neither Patroclus nor any other Greek could make use of the spear of Achilles.

C. 986.

He tells some stories of a harlequin-preacher, who used to surprise his audience with his monkey-tricks.

Simili novitate fertur cardinalibus ac summo pontifici improbrasse fastum ac delicias. Erat apud illos dicturus —Is nihil aliud prolocutus, *Phy sanctum Petrum! phy sanctum Paulum!* subinde cum execrantis voce exspuens, nunc in dextrum, nunc in sinistrum, nec aliud addens, e medio proripuit sese: relinquens omnes attonitos, aliis suspicantibus eum esse versum in furorem, aliis dubitantibus num in hæresim quampiam, aut Judaismum Paganismumve prolapsus in eas blasphemias erupisset. Quumque ageretur de homine conjiciendo in vincula, cardinalis quidam, qui propius nqverat ejus ingenium, atque etiam amabat, persuasit, ut prius ad pontificem evocaretur, paucisque cardinalibus testibus audiretur. Rogatus, quomodo in tam

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps *ut*.

horrendas blasphemias erupisset? respondit, sibi longe aliud argumentum fuisse præparatum, et paucis summam orationis exposuit: Cæterum, ubi spectarem, inquit, vos tanto strepitu tantisque in deliciis vivere, simulque reputarem, quam humilem, laboriosam, et <sup>r</sup> *amœnam* vitam egerint apostoli, quorum vices geritis, colligebam aut illos fuisse dementes, qui tam spinoso itinere contenderint in cœlum, aut vos recta ad inferos proficisci. Sed de vobis, qui tenetis claves regni cœlorum, nihil malæ suspicionis in animum inducere potui. Supererat ut illorum stultitiam detestarer, qui, quum licuisset ad istum modum splendide suaviterque vivere, maluerunt per omnem vitam jejuniis, vigiliis, ac laboribus discrucari.

## C. 997.

Sed impudentius est, quam ut imitandum sit, quod Homerus equis Achillis, et navibus quibusdam, sermonem attribuit; licet in *Literis mysticis* Asina reprehendit dominum suum.

His memory deceived him concerning Homer, who hath no *talking ships*.

## C. 1024.

His interpretation of St. Paul's *thorn in the flesh* is not right. Bishop Bull hath given a better in a sermon on that text.

## C. 1024.

He pleads his own cause, and defends his quitting the Monastery, in which he had been *engaged* in his youth, by force and fraud.

## C. 1049.

Those are canonical books of scripture,  
 —de quorum auctoritate nulla umquam fuit dubitatio, nec apud Hebræos, nec apud Græcos, nec apud Latinos. Cujus ordinis sunt, Genesis, &c. Novi vero instrumenti sunt hi, quatuor Evangelia, Acta Apostolorum, Pauli Epistolæ omnes, excepta ea quæ scribitur ad Hebræos, prima Petri, et prima Joannis. Non quod cæteris adimam

<sup>r</sup> Read *inamœnam*.

auctoritatem, sed quod horum præcipua sit auctoritas. Quidam, impense candidi, conantur omnium auctoritatem æquare, nitunturque nobis persuadere etiam tertium et quartum Esdræ, quorum somnia contemnit Hieronymus, sancti Spiritus afflatu scriptos esse: et librum cui titulus Sapia, quem plerique Philonis esse credunt, a Solomone fuisse conscriptum, quum nec stylus conveniat, et ipsa res satis præ se ferat, hoc opus post Christi tempora esse conscriptum. Videbitur hæc alicui civilitas, verum ea civilitas magis elevat pondus scripturæ canonicæ, quam confirmat.

## C. 1054.

He is of opinion that the Hebrew and the Greek languages are fuller of ambiguities than the Latin. But certainly the Latin language hath more ambiguities in construction than the Greek.

## C. 1079.

He says of infant-baptism :

Probabile est tingere infantes institutum fuisse ab apostolis; non damnaretur tamen qui de hoc dubitaret.

He himself hath doubted of it in other parts of his works.

## C. 1088.

He hath made an acute observation concerning the word *God*, that it is a *noun relative*.

Deus relativum est, quemadmodum *Dominus*. Dicitur enim Deus Hebræorum, Deus Abraham, quemadmodum rex, dominus, et princeps. *Ens* hujus aut illius non dicitur.

*Modus orandi Deum.*

Inscribed, *Clarissimo Poloniæ Baroni, Hieroslao de Lasco.*

## C. 1116.

He observes that the necessity of praying to saints cannot be proved from the holy scriptures; but he defends the practice, as antient and innocent, and blames the excess and superstition which had crept into it. One of his arguments in behalf of the invocation of saints is a very poor one; for it is taken from the miracles wrought at their



tombs, and these miracles are taken for granted. The spirit of credulity seems to have strongly possessed him when he wrote this.

Cæterum hanc mortalium pietatem Deo gratam esse, vel ipsis factis abunde testatus est ad sepulchra martyrum, ad implorationem sanctorum tot miraculis editis, liberatis dæmoniacis, sanatis ægrotis, excitatis mortuis. Nec enim arbitror quemquam fore tam impudentem, qui contendat omnes fabulas esse, quæ tot egregii scriptores ecclesiæ magno consensu tradiderunt: etiamsi fateamur in hoc genere permulta confingi.

### C. 1120.

He observes very justly that the processions, and carrying about of images, and other religious ceremonies of the like kind, came from Paganism.

Sunt ista vestigia veteris Paganismi. Olim in sacris ludis circumferebatur Bacchus, Venus, Neptunus, Silenus cum satyris, et difficilium erat in Christianorum vita mutare professionem, quam publicam consuetudinem. Itaque religiosi patres arbitrabantur magnum esse profectum, si pro talibus diis circumferrentur statuæ piorum hominum, quos miracula declarabant regnare cum Christo: si superstitiosa consuetudo cursitandi cum facibus in memoriam raptæ Proserpinæ verteretur in religiosum morem, ut populus Christianus cum accensis cereis conveniret in templum in honorem Mariæ Virginis: si qui prius in morbis invocabant Apollinem, aut Æsculapium, nunc invocarent sanctum Rochum, aut Antonium: si quæ prius petierant uterum ac felicem partum a Junone ac Lucina, peterent idem a sancto Jodoco, aut alio quovis divorum: si qui consuissent rem domesticam tutandam et augendam Lari, Mercurio, aut Herculi commendare, committerent sancto Erasmo aut Nicolao: si nautæ pro Venere et Geminis invocarent Virginem Matrem, eique pro impiis hymnis canerent nauticam cantionem, *Salve regina*: si qui segetem stultissimis ritibus lustrare consueverant, aut Cererem puerorum ac puellarum cantu delinire, circumferrent per agros vexillum crucis, hymnos modulantes in laudem Dei ac divorum: si pro Jove sospitatore miles ingressurus bellum sese committeret divo

Georgio aut Barbaræ : si civitates singulæ pro tutelaribus Diis adoptarent Bavonem, Marcum, aut alium quempiam e numero discipulorum Christi : si qui popismatis aliisve profanis ac superstitiosis remediis fulmen arcere, aut procurare consueverant, sonitu consecratarum nolarum aut suffita consecratarum frondium idem facerent : si qui prius magicis artibus dolori cordis medebantur, jam admoto codice evangelico mederentur : aut qui post auditum primum in Majo coccyem, consperso per cubiculum pulvere, quem circumscripto dextri pedis vestigio sustulissent, pulices ac pediculos profligare consueverant, idem facerent illata divi Francisci tunica : si qui capitis impetigini et alopeciiis superstitiosis remediis subvenire consueverant, idem facerent admoto pectine, qui fuit Christo cum Matre communis, quem audio Treviris etiam nunc ostendi : si qui ad bellum se gladiis fortunatis et indusiis incantatis solent armare, jam sese munirent ligno crucis.

Hæc tolerata sunt a Patribus, non quod in his esset Christiana religio, sed quod ab illis quæ commemoravimus, ad hæc profecisse magnus pietatis gradus videretur. Eadem ratione toleratæ sunt imagines, quas veteres ecclesiæ Proceres aliquot vehementer detestati sunt, odio videlicet idololatriæ. Gaudebant igitur populum huc profecisse, ut pro Deorum simulacris venerarentur imagines Jesu servatoris, et aliorum divorum. Quanquam harum usus jam in immensum progressus est. Nec tamen ideo profligandæ sunt imagines omnes e templis, sed docendus est populus, quemadmodum his conveniat uti. Quod inest vitii corrigendum est, si fieri potest absque gravi tumultu : quod inest boni probandum est. Optandum esset nihil in templis Christianorum conspici nisi Christo dignum. Nunc illic videmus tot fabulas ac nænias depictas, ut septem lapsus Domini Jesu, septem gladios Virginis, aut ejusdem tria vota, aliaque id genus hominum inania commenta : deinde Sanctos non ea forma representatos, quæ ipsis digna sit. Siquidem pictor expressurus Virginem Matrem aut Agatham, nonnunquam exemplum sumit a lasciva meretricula : et expressurus Christum aut Paulum, proponit sibi temulentum quempiam ac nebulonem. Sunt enim imagines quæ citius provocant ad lasciviam, quam ad pietatem : et hæc tamen a nobis tolerantur, quia plus

videmus mali in tollendo, quam in tolerando. Videmus quædam templa foris et intus plena nobilium insigniis, clypeis, galeis, leonibus, draconibus, vulturibus, canibus; tauris, bubalis, onocrotalis, vexillis ab hoste direptis; videmus locum occupatum ambitiosis divitum monumentis, solum inæquale factum et ad ingrediendum inhabile, quasi vel mortui studeant graves esse populo: hæc si feruntur in templis potius quam laudantur, arbitror et divorum imagines recte tolerari.

## C. 1126.

He could hardly justify prayers in an unknown tongue; but he treats the subject gently, for fear of giving offence.

Has (preces) sacerdos olim sic pronunciabat, ut totus populus et audiret, et intelligeret, eoque veluti pariter cum illo oraret, tacitis dumtaxat affectibus, demum voce clara accineret *Amen*. Id tum commode fiebat, quoniam sacerdos ea lingua sacrificabat, quæ populo erat communis. Nunc linguis novatis, ritus tamen vetus manet. Nec satis adhuc constat utrum magis expediat relinquere, an novare, quod jam inveteravit. Scio hanc esse multitudinis imperitiæ naturam, ut magis revereatur quod non intelligit. Sed interim minus utilitatis redit ad populum, ad quem sola vox antistitis pervenit. Novandæ consuetudinis auctor esse nolim.—Optandum autem esset, ut totus cultus divinus, qui tribus potissimum constat, hymnis, doctrina, et pre-catione, lingua toti populo nota perageretur.—Verum multa sunt in vita mortalium, quæ magis optare liceat, quam sperare.

*Explanatio Symboli, &c.*

Dedicated to lord Rochford, A. 1533.

*Precationes aliquot, &c.*

Dedicated to David Paungartner, A. 1535.

*Precatio ad Jesum.*

Dedicated to Joannes Rincus, A. 1532.

*Precatio Dominica, &c.*

Dedicated to Justus Ludovicus Wissenburgensis, A. 1533.

*Pæan Virgini Matri.*

This was composed to oblige the marchioness of Vere. It is a puerile performance, in a poetical, tumid, and idolatrous style.

*Obsecratio ad Virginem.*

Another piece of the same stamp.

*De Contemptu Mundi.*

A boyish exercise, for which he himself apologizes. It is an exhortation to a monastic state, written for the sake, and in the name of another, and not containing his real sentiments. A mere declamation composed before he was twenty years old.

This treatise *De Contemptu Mundi*, and the *Virginis et Martyris Comparatio*, were translated into English by Thomas Paynell. Wood, vol. i. p. 145. Thomas Paynell must have been a silly fellow, who could pick out no better flowers from the works of Erasmus.

*Disputatio de Tædio et Pavore Christi.*

Dedicated to Colet\*. This dedication is also printed amongst the Epistles. *Ep.* 403. c. 1789.

Colet had a notion that Jesus Christ was not terrified and cast down at the approach of his sufferings, through the infirmity of human nature; but that his agony proceeded from mere pity and grief for the impenitent Jews, and for their destruction. Some of the fathers had talked much after the same manner. Erasmus wrote this dissertation against the notion of Colet at Oxford. Burigni hath given an inaccurate account of this treatise of Erasmus. Tom. i. p. 175.

*De Præparatione ad Mortem.*

Dedicated to the earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, A. 1533. Here also are some good cautions and preservatives against the superstitions of that age.

\* Du Pin, xiv. 70.

*Ode de Casa Natalitia, et Hymni.*

Concerning this ode see Knight, p. 20.

C. 1324.

In his Hymn to the Holy Angels, he says :

Ambitu quem triplici triformem  
 Dextera lævaque frequentiores  
 Cingitis, quam nocte silente plenam  
 Sidera lunam.

Read,

Ambitu quem *vos* triplici triformem, &c.

What follows, concerning Satan and the fallen angels, is very prettily imagined and expressed, and truly poetical.

Invidet vestræ miser ille sorti,  
 Eminus sedes quoties ademtas  
 Suspicit frendens, et inauspicati  
 Pœnitet ausus.

Vespero quondam similis rubenti,  
 Inter æternos rutilabat ignes,  
 At simul Regis diadema miles  
 Ambiit audax,

Jam pares volvens animo cathedras,  
 Flammeo telo, grege cum sequaci  
 Ictus, ejectusque, rudem ruina  
 Terruit orbem.

Excipit partim cava Styx ruentes,  
 Abditur lucis bona pars opacis,  
 Cursitat magnum per inane multo  
 Plurima turba :

Densior quam Cecropiis in hortis,  
 Tinnulos æris crepitus secuta,  
 Evolant examina, quamque cœlo  
 Decidit imber.

*An Ode in praise of Joachim and Anna.*

Then follows :

*Liturgia Virginis Lauretanæ.*

Dedicated to Theobaldus Bietricius, A. 1525.

*Divæ Genovefæ Carmen Votivum.*

See Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 12.

*Commentarius in Hymnos Prudentii de Natali Jesu, et de Epiphania Jesu.*

Dedicated to Margaret Roper, A. 1524.

*Christiani Hominis Institutum,  
Epitaphium Odiliæ, &c.*

## TOMUS VI.

## NOVUM TESTAMENTUM.

## PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

EN tibi, lector, sextum Operum Des. Erasmi Volumen, quo continetur ejus versio Latina Novi Testamenti, Græco contextui addita, una cum adnotationibus. Verum cum in prioribus editionibus numeri commatum, qui sunt quærentibus quidpiam commodissimi, non essent additi, et Græcis et Latinis eos hic diligenter addi curavit bibliopola. Præterea adnotationes Erasmi, quæ erant ad calcem subjectæ, nec nisi difficulter cum contextu Græco, ejusque versione Erasmiana conferri poterant, nunc paginis singulis subjectæ facile sese legendas præbent. Ne miretur tamen lector, minus in operibus Erasmi versatus, verba, quæ singulis adnotationibus illustranda præfiguntur, non inveniri in iis locis versionis, ubi numeri conspiciuntur; sciat oportet Erasmus adnotationes suas, non in suam ipsius versionem scripsisse, sed in translationem vulgatam. Numeros tamen ad versionem Erasmi referendos existimavimus, ut eæ translationes commodius inter se conferri possent. Post canones Eusebianos bibliopola etiam adjicienda curavit nonnulla, quæ non erant in editione Frobeniana, anni 1540. sed quæ in alia antiquiore Novi Testamenti

Erasmi invenit. Ea sunt summa totius scripturæ, et index rerum quæ in Novo Testamento leguntur. Hæc si ab ipso Erasmo confecta non sint, attamen, eo volente et probante, videntur olim illi editioni adjecta, sunt enim bona et utilia. Præterea cum inventa essent in editione Basiliensi anni 1522. additamenta alia nonnulla elegantia et frugifera, quæ non comparent in aliis, resecta, ut opinor, ob causas quas adsequi difficile non est; nec easdem causas nunc haberemus eorum omittendorum, non immerito visum est bibliopolæ ea post auctoris dedicationem ad Leonem X. pontif. max. addere. Laudandus sane propterea est, quod ramenta omnia divitis venæ studiose undequaque collegerit, ut eorum usum communiorem toti reipublicæ literariæ faceret. Quam in rem, nullis laboribus, aut sumtibus pepercit, dignusque est ideo, cui omnes reipublicæ literariæ cives ex animo faveant.

Si de præstantia operis, ex multitudine editionum, iudicium ferri possit, præstantissimum hoc volumen fuisse oportet, quod toties editum est, ut nullius lucubrationes in Novum Testamentum tam sæpe sint recusæ. Ac sane primus omnium vidit Erasmus quomodo restituendum, illustrandumque esset Novum Testamentum. Primum enim varias lectiones ex MSS. codicibus, et SS. patribus, ex quarum collatione vera constitui posset, sat diligenter collegit. Translationem etiam novam, cum antiqua minus Latina, et obscura nimis esset, elegantiorum et clariorem multo totius Novi Testamenti, summo labore, perfecit. Denique ex linguæ Græcæ usu, consensuque eorundem patrum, sententiam dictorum, quoad potuit, tradidit; nec alius quisquam ejus ætate melius id, quod adgressus est, præstare potuisset. Scio esse viros doctissimos, qui dixerint Erasmum nimis diligenter collegisse varias lectiones locorum, ubi sermo est de divinitate Christi, iisque, qui eam negant, viam munisse. Quare eum occulti Arianismi suspectum facere voluerunt. Verum ad dogma ipsum quod attinet, ita se ipse in Apologiis, quæ nono volumine continentur, defendit, ut ei heterodoxum quidquam tribui mera nunc calumnia esset. Ad varias autem illas lectiones quod attinet, si vera sunt quæ dicit de MSS. codicibus, patribusque, apud quos aliter loca nonnulla legantur, nihil est quod illi

succenseamus; neque enim nobis fas est mendaciis veritatem tueri, quæ sane iis non indiget. Quod si nos fefellisset, ostendendum id esset; quod factum non video. Itaque cum nobis sat magna suppetat locorum et argumentorum copia, quibus Arianismum confutemus, quamvis sit aliqua varietas, nonnullis in verbis, sive apud patres, sive apud priscos codices; utamur iis rationibus, quibus nihil dubium est admissum<sup>t</sup>, dubiaque, prout sunt, relinquamus, et Erasmo gratias potius habeamus, quod nos de iis, quæ tuto urgeri non possunt, fideliter monuerit, totque et tantis laboribus genuinam sacrorum oraculorum sententiam aperire conatus sit, et vero etiam feliciter ut plurimum aperuerit. Utere igitur, lector, hoc opere, in usus tuos commodius multo quam antea disposito, magnoque viro eas grates rependito, quas potes et debes, benigna æstimatione ejus operum; laudibusque, quasi flosculis, æternum hoc ingenii ejus monumentum nobiscum spargito.

Then follow:

The Approbation of Leo X. addressed to Erasmus, A. 1518.

The Dedication to Leo X. A. 1516.

A Preface to the Third Edition of the year 1524.

It contains an exhortation to piety, and to the study of the Scriptures.

*Paraclesis.*

An exhortation of the same kind, in which he recommends even to the lowest of the people, the perusal of the Scriptures translated into vulgar languages.

*Epistola de Philosophia Evangelica.*

Of the causes and ends for which Christianity was revealed.

*Solœcismi per Interpretem admissi.*

A specimen of the gross faults in the Vulgate:

*Loca obscura, &c. Loca depravata, &c.*

A specimen of faults in the editions of the Vulgate, which are not to be imputed to the translator, but crept into the copies.

<sup>t</sup> F. admistum.



*Ad placandos eos, &c.*

Faults in the Vulgate, omissions, commissions, &c.

*Apologia.*

He defends himself against his ignorant calumniators, and gives some account of his labours on the New Testament.

*De Duabus Postremis Editionibus, Quarta et Quinta, Erasmus pio Lectori S. D.*

A refutation of the cavillers who had censured his New Testament.

*In Annotationes Novi Testamenti Præfatio.*

In this preface he gives a hint which may be of service to those who study the New Testament in a critical way.

Si Christi sermones exstarent Hebraicis aut Syriacis, hoc est, iisdem verbis proditi, quibus ille locutus est, cui non cordi foret in illis philosophari, et non solum verborum vim ac proprietatem, verum singulos etiam apices excutere?

*Eusebii Canones.*

*Summa totius Sacræ Scripturæ.*

*Index Vocabulorum, &c.*

*Vita Matthæi, Marci, Lucæ, Joannis, per Hieronymum.*

*Vita Matthæi, Græcè, per Sophronium.*

*In Matthæum Proœmium Theophylacti, Græcè.*

In the Edition of Leyden, for Θεοφυλακῆ read Θεοφυλακτῆ.

*Novum Testamentum.*

*Index in Annotationes N. T.*

Matt. III. 16.

Col. XXI. Not. 22.

Quum essemus proxime Brugis, qua non alia civitas hodie florentior, aut bonorum ingeniorum feracior, in omnium celeberrimo congressu, cum aliorum principum innumerabilium, tum præcipue Caroli Cæsaris semper augusti, et R. D. Thomæ cardinalis Eboracensis, scrutati sumus bibliothecam vetustissimi collegii, vulgo dicti Sancti Donatiani: quod hodieque veteris eruditionis ac disciplinæ non pauca tenet vestigia. Ibi reperimus evangeliorum

codices complures, &c. Horum nobis copia facta est per omni virtutum genere præcellentem Marcum Laurinum, ejus collegii decanum. Habebat ea bibliotheca complures alios libros antiquitatis venerandæ, qui neglectu quorundam perierunt, *ut nunc ferme sunt sacerdotum mores magis incumbere patinis quam paginis, et potioem habere curam nummorum quam voluminum.*

Matt. XI. 27. Col. LV. N. 25.

Here he disputes against a man, whom he represents as a vile calumniator, and who, I suppose, was Aleander. See Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 370.

Matt. XI. 30. C. LXIII. N. 44.

He complains of the intolerable load of human impositions and decisions, of multiplying articles of faith, of the manifold corruptions in the church, of monkery, fastings, festivals, excommunications, &c.

Matt. XII. 32.

—*Whosoever speaketh against the holy Ghost, it shall not be forgiven him.*

Erasmus in his paraphrase on this verse, tom. vii. c. 73, interprets it: *vix inveniet veniam.* Bishop Latimer understood it in the same manner. See Strype's Memor. vol. ii. p. 70.

Matt. XV. 5. C. LXXXI. N. 6. and XXIII. 14.

He takes occasion to censure the monks, who used to persuade superstitious people to leave their estates to what was called *pious uses*, and to injure their own families, and their lawful heirs. Erasmus took care, when he died, that none of these harpies should finger any of his money.

Matt. XIX. 12. C. c. N. 12.

There are, says he, three sorts of eunuchs:

Tertium, qui volentes ob regnum Dei sese continent. In qua classe ponemus eorum genus, qui vel arte vel metu detruduntur in cœlibatum, ut scortari liceat, uxorem ducere non liceat: adeo ut si profiteantur concubinam, sint catholici sacerdotes; sin uxorem dici malint, conjiciantur in

ignem. Mea sententia clementius tractarent suos liberos parentes, si quos cœlibatui destinassent, pueros etiamnum curarent exsecandos, quam si integros nolentes aut inscios conjicerent in hoc incendium libidinis.

Matt. XXII. 42. C. CXIII. N. 37.

Observing how they who studied the Hebrew language differed from one another in the interpretation of Hebrew words, he says :

Addam ridiculum quiddam: A duobus locus hic fuit impetitus, quorum prior confessus est apud Hebræos sic haberi, quemadmodum ego notaram, alter affirmat contra haberi, uterque se profitetur scire Hebraicè, et uterque suam sententiam scriptis evulgavit, et interim Erasmus vocatur intractabilis, qui diffidat talibus monitoribus. Atque ego sane vix unquam duos vidi, qui in re Hebraica consentirent, sive hoc linguæ, sive hominum est vitium.

Matt. XXIII. 1. C. CXVII. N. 1.

He lashes the bishops of his days :

Nunc quoque fortassis audiendus sit episcopus, qui recte doceat Evangelium, etiamsi ipse parum evangelice vivat. Cæterum quis ferat eos adversus Christi doctrinam, pro suo comodo fixis ac refixis legibus, meram tyrannidem exercentes in populum, suoque quæstu ac majestate metientes omnia? Qui constitutiunculis ad quæstum ad<sup>u</sup> tyrannidem excogitatis irretiunt populum, non sedent in cathedra evangelica, sed in cathedra Simonis Magi, aut Caiphæ. Atque hoc ita dictum sit de malis episcopis, qui utinam nulli sint usquam, ut bonorum auctoritati nulla in parte derogetur.

Matt. XXIII. 5. C. CXVIII. N. 4.

He reproves the modern scribes, Pharisees, and reliquemongers :

Quid dicturus sit (Hieronymus) si videat hodie passim ad quæstum ostentari lac Mariæ, quod honore propemodum æquant corpori Christi consecrato? prodigiosum oleum,

<sup>u</sup> Perhaps *ac*.

fragmentula ligni crucis, tam multa, ut si in acervum redigantur, vix una navis oneraria vehat: hic ostentari Francisci cucullam, illic intimam vestem Mariæ Virginis, alibi pectinem Annæ, alibi caligam Joseph, alibi calceum Thomæ Cantuariensis, alibi Christi præputium: quod cum sit res incerta, religiosius adorant quam totum Christum. Neque vero hæc ita proferuntur tanquam ferenda, et plebeculæ donanda affectibus, verum huc fere, summa religionis vocatur, avaritia sacerdotum, et monachorum quorundam hypocrisi, quos alit populi stultitia. Atque in hisce comædiis primas agunt episcopi quidam factitii, ne nusquam valere videantur; hæc suis diplomatis approbant, suis condonationibus ornant, tanta gravitate, ut, quoties mihi legitur istorum comprobatio, minus credam quam antea credebam.—

Matt. XXIV. 23. C. CXXV. N. 23.

Audimus monachos passim clamantes (de superstitiosis loquor, non de piis) *Ecce Christus hic est*, nec hos tamen inter se consentire. Observantes dicunt, apud Coletas et Convētuales non est Christus, sed hic est. Jacobitæ clamant, *Hic est Christus*; apud Augustinienses non est. Rursus Benedictini clamant, *Hic est Christus*; non apud Mendicantes. Denique clamat hoc genus omne, *Hic est Christus*; apud sacerdotes qui cucullam non gestant, Christus non est. Tot undique voces obstrepunt clamantium, *Hic est Christus*. Sed quid ait ipse Christus? *Nolite credere, &c.*

Matt. XXVII. 45. C. CXLIV. N. 49.

Neque enim illæ tenebræ occupabant universum terrarum orbem, ut meo iudicio recte sentit Origenes, sed Judæam duntaxat, aut terram Hierosolymitanam, &c.

See also tom. ix. C. 619. and his note on Acts, C. 503.

Marc. VI. 3. C. CLXXI. N. 1.

Curatum est a Spiritu Sancto ne multa proderentur literis de rebus externis Domini Jesu, veluti de forma habituque corporis, de cibis ac vestibus, ne mentibus hominum ad superstitionem pronis daretur occasio: quandoquidem ex

hoc, quod evangelistæ tradunt Jesum fuisse fabri filium ac fabrum ipsum, exortum est genus hominum, qui *Jesuitæ*<sup>w</sup> vocari volunt, quod in monasteriis fabrilem artem exercent, malleumque gerunt pro insigni. —

Marc. VI. 9. C. CLXXII. N. 9.

He scourges the Mendicant monks, and says that Christ was no Mendicant. See also C. 231. N. 15.

Marc. X. 43. C. CLXXXIX. N. 28.

Qui ex hoc loco contendunt *ignem* apud inferos esse materialem, necesse est ut fateantur illic et *vermem* esse materialem. Quod si hic tropum admittunt, *vermem* interpretantes *remorsum conscientiæ*, poterant et per *ignem* accipere *perpetuum cruciatum animæ*; in quem sensum hunc locum interpretatur Theophylactus.

Luc. III. 14. C. CCXLII. N. 17.

He speaks against going to war.

Luc. VII. 4. C. CCLVIII. N. 4.

Ad eundem modum et hodie quidam, quæstui prætexentes pietatem adulantur divitibus: Benigne largitur fratribus, extruxit nobis monasterii partem, favet ordini nostro, tantum legavit, fraudatis etiam liberis. Quasi quod illis datur, fortassis ad luxum, Deo detur. Hæc non eo spectant, ut damnem benignitatem in monachos, præsertim pios, sed ut admoneam quosdam nihil aliud agentes, quam ut captent divites.

Luc. XI. 3. C. CCLXXVI. N. 1.

*Panem quotidianum*. Atqui non est Græce *quotidianum*, sed ἐπιείσιον, quod magis sonat *crastinum*. Non enim petunt commeatum in multos annos, sed tantum in proximum diem. Et qui vesperi orat pro victu postridiano, quid aliud petit quam victum quotidianum?

Luc. XIV. 15. C. CCXCII. N. 7.

Ὁς φάγεται. Qui manducabit. Potest accipi, qui manducat, &c.

<sup>w</sup> This was the first order of *Jesuits*, which is, I believe, but little known.

“Erasmus was deceived, when he denieth *Φαγῆμαι* to be used in the future; and in the same place he holdeth that *Φάγομαι, τίομαι*, be present, not future, whereas they are future only, and not present.” Laur. Humphrey. In *Strype's Life of Parker*, Append. p. 142.

Luc. XXII. 36. C. CCCXVII. N. 19.

This note is a dissertation against war.

Joan. I. 1. C. CCCXXXV. N. 2.

He defends himself for translating *Λόγος, Sermo*, and not *Verbum*.

Joan. XIV. 26. C. CCCXCVIII. N. 22.

Here Erasmus condemns the barbarous way in which the ecclesiastics and others pronounced *Christus, Kyrie eleeson*, &c. and proposeth some rules concerning pronunciation. He observes that the Italians, the Germans, the French, and the Dutch, spake Latin with such different sounds, that they could not understand one another.

Joan. XXI. 22. C. CCCCXXI. N. 15.

—Et tamen hi se jactant absolutos theologos, nec minus sibi videntur pii quam docti, abominandum facinus arbitantes, si pro scaro vescantur ovilla, et meram religionem esse ducunt, si bene monentem sic calumnientur. Tale sanctorum genus gignunt nobis linum et lana, corium et pannus, pisces et fabæ, nigror et albor, nomina et tituli. Excitet Dominus spiritum suum in omnibus.

Act. II. 8. C. CCCCXLI. N. 12.

Probabilius est autem apostolos sua lingua fuisse loquutos, et miraculo factum ut nemo non intelligeret, perinde ac si suam quisque linguam audisset. Nec unquam legimus hoc miraculi accidisse alias, nisi forte semel atque iterum, &c.

This is a strange notion of Erasmus, which he hath often repeated. Arnobius hath one no less extravagant, and of the same kind, when he says of our Saviour; *Unus fuit e nobis, qui cum unam emitteret vocem, ab diversis populis, et dissona oratione loquentibus, familiaribus verborum sonis et suo cuique utens existimabatur eloquio?* Lib. i. p. 27.

Grotius on Acts, II. 3. insinuates, that he thought the gift of tongues to be temporary, and says:—*quoties negotium ipsis esset cum Gentibus linguæ alterius. Prophetis prophetia raro aderat cum Deus vellet* (read, *aderat nisi cum Deus vellet* \*) *neque certi erant prophetæ quando eam essent habituri.*

Act. V. 14. C. CCCCLV. N. 12.

Ipse spectavi primum Bononiæ, deinde Romæ, Julium pontificem Romanum, ejus nominis secundum, splendidissimos agentem triumphos, ac prorsus tales, ut cum Pompeianis aut Cæsarianis triumphis conferri possent. Verum quid illi ad Petri majestatem, non armis, non copiis, non machinis, non auro, sed sola fide totum orbem in sui miraculum convertentis? atque eadem magnificentia et hodie sequeretur apostolorum successores, si pares essent spiritu.

Act. VI. 6. C. CCCCLIX. N. 9.

Rabanus admonet hunc esse modum in conferendis sacris ordinibus, ut populus eligat, episcopus ordinet. Ea certe consuetudo diutissime perseveravit in ecclesia, verum ob tumultus populares recte mutata est.

Act. VII. 51. C. CCCCLXIV. N. 34.

Cæterum apparet orationem Stephani clamoribus obstrepentium Judæorum interruptam fuisse. Neque enim satis alioqui respondet hic finis tam alte repetito principio, præsertim cum in ea multa sint, quæ non ita multum pertinere videantur ad id quod instituit.

Act. X. 16. C. CCCCLXXIV. N. 16.

*Per ter.* Ἐπὶ τοῖς. Ex hoc solœcismo natus est, opinor, Apologus qui vulgo fertur non infestivus. Sacerdos quispiam rusticanae plebis rusticior pastor, cum primum esset baptizaturus infantem, ac in libro unde solennia verba pronunciabat, minio adscriptum offenderet, *Salta per ter,*

\* If you place a comma after *aderat*, the sense may be: *Prophetis prophetia raro aderat: aderat nempe cum Deus vellet; neque ex prophetarum arbitrio et voluntate pendeat.* And then the place will need no alteration.

quibus verbis librarius admonebat, tres retro paginas esse revolvendas, mox jussit, ut ædituus adduceret hastile, quo crux imposita circumfertur. Eo accepto, *Bene sit*, inquit, *antehac nunquam idem expertus sum, sed ita res postulat*: et hastili innixus, apsidem saxeam ter transiit, atque ita, recepto codice, reliqua peregit.

Act. X. 38. C. CCCCLXXVI. N. 33.

The Apostles, says he, did not speak and write Greek correctly and politely. See Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 133.

Act. XVIII. 34. C. DIII. N. 50.

Speaking of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite, a spurious and a ridiculous book, he says :

Ante complures annos, ut memini, vir incomparabilis Gulielmus Grocinus, ut theologus summus, ita in nulla disciplina non exquisite doctus et exercitatus, auspicaturus Londini in æde Divo Paulo sacra enarrationem cœlestis hierarchiæ, meditata præfatione multum asseveravit hoc opus esse Dionysii Areopagitæ, vehementer destomachans in eorum impudentiam, qui dissentirent. At idem priusquam operis dimidium confecisset, ubi gustum attentius cepisset, ingenue coram auditorio fassus est, sibi verso calculo non videri id opus esse Dionysii Areopagitæ.

Act. XIX. 18. C. DVII. N. 8.

Vel hinc colligi potest fuisse et antiquitus nonnullam confessionem male actæ vitæ, sed apertam, ut opinor, et in genere, quam nec ipsam legimus exactam abs quoquam. Cæterum quæ nunc recepta est clancularia, et in aurem fit, videtur ex consultationibus privatis esse nata, quæ solent apud episcopos fieri, si qui scrupulus urgeret animum.

Act. XX. 13. C. DXII. N. 13.

*Per terram iter facturus.* Πεζεύειν—*pedestri itinere venturus, sive pedibus iter facturus.* Interpres vitasse videtur, ne quis Paulum existimaret, non equis aut vehiculis, sed pedibus eo venisse. Atqui hoc ipsum accedebat ad Pauli gloriam, quod mallet iter laboriosius, modo majore cum fructu.



The old interpreter translated it right. In our version it is, *to go a-foot*. It should be, *to go by land*. *πεζεῦεν* means *to go by land*; whether on foot, or on horseback, or in a waggon, it matters not. Cicero ad Attic. Ep. X. 4. *Me tamen consilio juva, pedibusne Rhegium, an hinc statim in navem.* Where see Grævius.

Act. XX. 35. C. DXIV. N. 33.

*Beatum est dare potius quam accipere.*

Utinam hunc animum Pauli tam excelsum et ab omni specie quæstus abhorrentem imitarentur nostri temporis concionatores. Fuit aliquis qui sibi in omnem vitam interdixit esum carniû, inveniuntur qui imitentur: fuit qui semper nudis incesserit pedibus, habet imitatores: fuit qui fune se cinxerit, non desunt qui studiose æmulentur: fuit qui semper pullatus incesserit, reperit æmulatores: solum hoc pulcherrimum exemplum Pauli non habet æmulos.

Act. XXI. 39. C. DXVIII. N. 23.

Porro quantumvis fuit celebris aliis nominibus Tarsus, nullo tamen insignior, quam quod illi Paulum debemus, usque adeo præcipuum Christianæ philosophiæ præconem ac propugnatorem, ut ni ille nobis divino munere contigisset, periculum fuerit futurum ne Christiani omnes in servilem illam et humilem Moysis legem relaberentur. Quamquam nunc quoque ratione magis quam numero ceremoniarum ab illis differimus: eo Christus progressu temporum recidit!

C. DXLVII.

This is a Dissertation on the scope of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

Rôm. I. 4. C. DLIV. N. 5.

He speaks handsomely of Thomas Aquinas:

Dictu mirum est, quam se torqueat hoc loco Thomas Aquinas, vir alioqui non suo tantum seculo magnus. Nam meo quidem animo nullus est recentium theologorum, cui par sit diligentia, cui sanius ingenium, cui solidior eruditio: planeque dignus erat, cui linguarum quoque peritia, reliquaue bonarum literarum supellex contingeret, qui iis quæ per eam tempestatem dabantur tam dextre sit usus.

## Rom. V. 12. C. DLXXXV. N. 14.

In a long note, he contends that *original sin* is not to be proved from this passage. It is no wonder that these remarks of his gave offence; for there is so very great a scarcity and poverty of texts to confirm this doctrine, that it is not at all convenient to yield up those which are nothing to the purpose.

## Rom. V. 14. C. DXCI. N. 17.

De infantibus non videtur agere Paulus, nec ea quæstio tunc movebatur, quum nondum esset receptum infantes baptizari.

## Rom. IX. 5. C. DCX. N. 8.

*Christus—qui est super omnia Deus, &c.*

Hic locus non est efficax ad revincendos Arianos, quando nihil vetat quo minus ad Patris personam referatur, &c.

## Rom. XVI. 14. C. DCLIII. N. 16.

*Herman.* Origenes arbitratur hunc Hermen esse auctorem libri apochryphi, cui titulus *Pastor*.—Mira fuit in his veterum vel credulitas vel civilitas, qui tantum tribuerint libris quos titulo Clementis habemus, quum in his tam manifestus appareat fucus hominis qui talia scripsit.

## 1 Cor. III. 8. C. DCLXX. N. 10.

Si divus Paulus ita stomachatur adversus Corinthios, quod ab his mutuarentur cognomina, a quibus baptismum acceperant, et Christi mysteriis primum erant initiati, quid diceret de nostræ tempestatis factionibus, qua mille cognomentis, mille cultibus, ceremoniis, regulis inter sese dissident, qui vocantur religiosi? Quibus ex rebus quantum Christianæ concordiæ nascatur inter hos, non libet hic commemorare.

## 1 Cor. III. 12. C. DCLXXI. N. 14.

He will not allow that the doctrine of purgatory can be collected from this passage.

## 1 Cor. VII. 1. C. DCLXXXV. N. 3.

Ætate Pauli, quum inter innumeros Ethnicos perpauci

essent Christiani, fortasse commodius erat abstinere a matrimonio: nunc mutatis rebus haud scio an magis expediat sanctum connubium, et immaculatum torum sancte pureque colere, etiam sacerdotibus, si qui non continent, quando horum tam ingens ubique numerus est, rursus tanta raritas caste viventium.

1 Cor. VII. 39. C. DCXCII. N. 42.

This note contains a dissertation concerning divorce, which he thought was too rigidly refused to some persons, who had a fair claim to it.

1 Cor. VII. 39. C. DCXCVI. B.

In Actis Apostolorum, solenni celebrique concilio decretum ac promulgatum est, ut qui ex Paganismo cooptarentur in Christianos, abstinerent ab idolothytis, a suffocato animante, a sanguine et a stupro. Conciliabulum dici non potest tam frequens cœtus; acephalum dici non potest, ubi Petrus aderat ipse. Et tamen quod ibi decretum est, adeo est antiquatum ut nunc Judaizare crederetur, qui abhorreret a gallina suffocata, aut fartis sanguine distentis. Nec lædimus interim apostolicam majestatem, tantum excusamus hoc ad tempus fuisse constitutum, ob placandos Judæorum animos. Paulus vetat episcopum fieri qui neophytus sit, aut percussor, aut vinolentus. At hodie Romanus pontifex vel heri baptizatum, vel piratam publicum admittet ad honorem episcopalem, si videatur, nihil deterritus Paulina constitutione. In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definiit Ecclesia: diu satis erat credere sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocumque modo adesse verum corpus Christi. Ubi rem propius contemplata est, ubi exactius expendit, certius præscripsit. Non erant hæretici qui olim credidissent Spiritum Sanctum a Patre duntaxat procedere, et haud scio, an maxima pars Christianorum primitus ita crediderit. Expensare, definiit Ecclesia, quod hodie sequimur. Idem videtur accidisse in conceptione beatæ Virginis, si tamen hoc Ecclesia sic definiit, ut hæreticus sit habendus qui dubitet: nam mihi nondum satis liquet, etiamsi sunt qui prædicent hoc esse definitum in concilio Basiliensi. Hic rursus oritur dubitatio gemina, an valeant omnia in eo concilio acta, tum

quibus verbis et quo animo hoc sit definitum. Quod si ut articulus fidei, quid fiet Dominicanis, quorum plerique persistunt in diversa sententia? Sunt hujus generis alia multa. Nemo priscorum audebat clare pronunciare Spiritum Sanctum esse Patri Filioque *homusion*, ne tum quidem, quum quæstio de Filio tanta contentione per universum orbem agitaretur. Quin in epinicio, quod post Arianos profligatos canere cœpit Ecclesia, quod tribuitur Filio, *Lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero*, non idem dilucide tribuitur Spiritui Sancto. Nunc audemus profiteri, Spiritum Sanctum *homusion* Patri et Filio, et Deum verum de Patre Deo vero, et de Filio Deo vero, &c.

1 Cor. XII. 3. C. DCCXIX. N. 4.

Ex hoc capite et proximo licet conjicere, quæ fuerint dotes illius veteris ecclesiæ Christianæ, priusquam tot cæremoniis, opibus, imperiis, copiis, bellis, aliisque id genus esset onerata. Nunc fere tot præclara munia ad unam potestatem redacta sunt, hoc est, Christi titulo palliatam tyrannidem. Quid enim est aliud potestas, nisi adsit animus apostolicus?

1 Cor. XIV. 19. C. DCCXXXI. N. 26.

Hac in re mirum, quam mutata sit Ecclesiæ consuetudo. Paulus mavult quinque verba in sensu, quam decem millia in spiritu. At nunc in nonnullis regionibus totos dies psallitur spiritu, nec modus, nec finis cantionum: quum vix intra sex menses audiatur concio salubris, adhortans ad veram pietatem: id enim Paulus vocat, *in sensu loqui*. Ut omittam interim hujusmodi musices genus inductum esse in cultum divinum, ut ne liceat quidem ullam vocem liquido percipere. Nec iis qui cantillant otium est attendendi quid canant. Tantum vocum tinnitus aures ferit, et mox peritura delectatiuncula mulcet. Ferendum et hoc, nisi vulgus sacerdotum ac monachorum in hujusmodi rebus summam constitueret pietatem, multum dissentiens a Paulo. Cur dubitat Ecclesia tantum auctorem sequi? Imo cur audet ab eo dissentire? Quid aliud auditur in monasteriis, in collegiis, in templis ferme omnibus, quam vocum strepitus? Atqui ætate Pauli non cantus erat, sed pronuntiatio duntaxat.

Vix a posterioribus receptus est cantus, sed talis ut nihil aliud esset, quam distincta modulataque pronuntiatio, cuiusmodi superest etiamnum apud nos, qua sonamus in canone sacro Precationem Dominicam: et linguam, qua hæc canebatur, vulgus adhuc promiscuum intelligebat, respondens Amen. Nunc vulgus quid aliud audit quam voces nihil significantes? et talis est fere pronuntiatio, ut nec voces exaudiantur, sonitus tantum aures feriat. Atque hæc primum specie pietatis recepta, paulatim eo processerunt, ut Psalmorum, cantionum, sacrorum, mortaliorum neque modus sit ullus, neque finis, quod sentiamus hinc accrescere proventibus nostris. Quodque gravius est, ad hæc præstanda sacerdotes adstringuntur arctioribus pene vinculis, quam ad ea quæ præcipit Christus. Ad hæc audienda cogitur populus, depulsus ab opera, qua liberos alit et uxorem, qua re quid esse potest sanctius? Habeant sane templa solennes cantus, sed moderatos. Ad eadem cogimur privatim occupati, et publicum chorum in navi, in vehiculis, in pandochiis nobiscum circumferimus. Ex his observatis aut neglectis, pii aut impii iudicamur. Est quispiam Crasso avarior, Zoilo maledicentior, vir tamen pius habetur, quod clara voce sonet eas preculas, etiamsi nihil intelligat. Obsecro quid sentiunt de Christo, qui credunt illum huiusmodi vocum strepitu delectari? Nec his contenti, operosam quandam ac theatricam musicam in sacras aedes induximus, tumultuosum diversarum vocum garrum, qualem non opinor in Græcorum aut Romanorum theatris unquam auditum fuisse. Omnia tubis, lituis, fistulis, ac sambucis perstrepunt, cumque his certant hominum voces. Audiuntur amatoriarum fœdæque cantilenæ, ad quas scorta mimique saltitant. In sacram ædem velut in theatrum concurritur ad deliniendas aures. Et in hunc usum magnis salariis aluntur organorum opifices, puerorum greges, quorum omnis ætas in perdiscendis huiusmodi gannitibus consumitur, nihil interim bonæ rei discentium. Alitur sordidorum ac levium, ut plerique sunt Dionysiaci, hominum colluvies, ac tantis sumtibus oneratur Ecclesia ob rem pestiferam etiam. Quæso te ut rationem ineas, quot pauperes de vita periclitantes poterant ali cantorum salariis? Hæc adeo placent, ut monachi nihil aliud agant, præsertim

apud Britannos; et quorum cantus debuit esse luctus, hi lascivis hinnitibus et mobili gutture Deum placari credunt. In hunc usum etiam in Benedictinorum collegiis apud Britannos aluntur ephebi puerique et vocum artifices, qui mane Virgini Matri modulatissimo vocum garritu ac musicis organis sacrum decantent. Hujusmodi choros episcopi coguntur alere domi. Atque his rebus occupati, nec attingunt bonas literas, nec audiunt quibus in rebus sita sit vera religio. Jam qui crassiores sunt quam ut artem musicam queant perdiscere, non putant satisfieri festo diei, nisi depravatum quoddam cantus genus adhibeant, quod illi *fauburdum* appellant. Id nec thema præscriptum reddit, nec artis harmonias observat. Ad hæc quum in hoc recepta sit in Ecclesiam musica sobria, quo verborum sensus efficacius influant in animos auditorum, quibusdam hoc quoque pulchrum videtur, si unus aut alter cæteris admixtus ingenti boatu vocis efficiat, ne verbum ullum percipiatur. In hoc indulgetur stultorum affectibus, et ventri consulitur. Cur hæc nobis sola placent, quæ Paulus ceu parvulorum infantiam parcissime vult adhiberi, imo quæ nullo pacto laturus fuerat? Siquidem de sacra lectione loquitur ille, non de theatricis cantuunculis. Psallamus spiritu, sed psallamus Christiane: psallamus parce, magis autem psallamus mente. Loquamur linguis, sed parcius: prophetemus studiosius. Audiatur in primis prophetæ vox, quæ redarguat impij conscientiam, quæ consoletur dejectos, quæ exstimulet dormitantes, quæ mysteria divini Spiritus proferat: et in hunc usum potius instituat ætas tenera. Sed satius opinor, quod institutum est persequi, quam hæc deplorare, haud scio an frustra.

2 Cor. II. 10. C. DCCLVII. N. 9.

Animadvertendum autem quam paucos Paulus tradiderit Satanæ, et quanto affectu hunc suis commendet, quum nos *ob tres drachmas* effulminemus passim. Nec tamen hunc tradidit Satanæ privata sua auctoritate, sed publico omnium iudicio, qui apud nos recta in ignem conjiceretur, &c.

Galat. V. 12. C. DCCCXIII.

Ὁφελον καὶ ἀποκόψονται—*I would they were cut off.*

Instead of making remarks on Erasmus and other commentators, I shall only observe, in three words, that ἀποκόβονται may be taken in the *reciprocal* sense: *Utinam se etiam absciderent.*—I wish these *circumcisers* would also *cut themselves quite off* from your communion, and leave the Christian church, where they do more harm than good to themselves and to others.

A learned friend showed me the same interpretation lately proposed in some foreign journal.

Ephes. V. 4. C. DCCCL. N. 4.

*Scurrilitas.*—Equidem ut jocos utcunque tolero, modo docti sint et sale conditi: ita non fero quosdam, qui quoties urbani videri volunt, e divinis literis ad suas ineptias detorquent aliquid. Quod infestivum festivitatis genus impense video placere monachis quibusdam, ac sacerdotibus etiam nonnullis, qui si cupiant vel insectari quempiam, Canticum Mariæ, vulgo dictum *Magnificat*, aut Canticum vulgo dictum *Te Deum*, commutatis aliquot verbis, detorquent ad virulentiam. Hujusmodi sales illis merito placent, quibus placet *Catholicon*, *Mammætractus*, et id genus insulsissima glossemata; quibus arident frigidissimæ quæstiunculæ, ut ubique sui sint similes, non minus ridiculi dum jocantur, hoc est, dum camelus saltat, quam dum res serias agunt.

The Italians have been much given to this sort of buffoonery, to burlesquing the Scriptures; and the *pasquinades* are generally of this kind.

Ad Coloss. III. 23. C. DCCCXCIII. N. 42.

—Sentit de iis qui superstitione lacerabant aut mutilabant corpus suum, aut immoderatis jejuniis conficiebant. Manent hujus rei nonnullæ reliquæ hodieque apud Italos in *Flagellatoribus*, cujusmodi multa commemorat Apuleius in *asino suo*.

1 Ad Tīm. I. 6. C. DCCCXXVI. N. 13.

He gives an excellent specimen of the questions agitated and determined by the school-men:

*In vaniloquium.*—Quantum ad prononciationem attinet,

*matæologia* non multum abest a *theologia*, cum res inter se plurimum discrepent. Proinde nobis quoque cavendum est, ne sic sectemur theologiam, ut in uatæologiam incidamus, de frivolis nugis sine fine digladiantes. Ea potius tractemus, quæ nos transforment in Christum, et cælo dignos reddant. Quorsum enim attinet decertare, quot modis accipiatur peccatum, privatio duntaxat sit, an macula inhærens animæ? Hoc potius agat theologus, ut omnes horreant oderintque peccatum. Totis seculis disputamus, an gratia, qua Deus nos diligit ac trahit, et qua nos illum vicissim diligimus. eadem sit gratia, et an sit aliquid creatum an increatum. Illud potius agamus, puris precibus, innocentia vitæ, piis factis, ut eo munere nos dignetur Deus. Digladiamur sine fine, quid distinguat Patrem a Filio, et utrumque a Spiritu Sancto, res, an relatio, et quæ consistat, tres dici, quorum nullus sit qui alius, cum sint una essentia. Quanto magis ad rem pertinet hoc modis omnibus agere, ut ternionem illum, cujus majestatem scrutari fas non est, pie sancteque colamus et adoremus, illiusque concordiam ineffabilem nostra concordia quoad licet exprimamus, quo contingat aliquando et in illius adscisci consortium. Disputamus qui fieri possit, ut ignis, quo cruciabuntur impiorum animæ, cum sit materialis, agat in rem incorpoream. Quanto magis referebat, huc totis viribus eniti, ne quid in nobis reperiat ignis ille, qualis qualis est, quod exurat? Atque hæc si vel animi laxandi gratia, vel citra contentionem agerentur, ferri poterant. Nunc quibusdam tota ætas in hujusmodi quæstionibus consumitur, et res usque ad clamorem, usque ad vera dissidia, usque ad convicia, nonnunquam usque ad pugnos procedit. Quot quæstionum examina suscitamus circa baptismum, circa synaxim, circa pœnitentiæ sacramentum, quorum nonnulla sunt ejusmodi, ut nec scire magnopere referat, et ut asseverari possunt, ita nec refelli, nec probari? Illud magis ad rem pertinebat, in hoc incumbere, ad hoc nos invicem adhortari, ut vita Christo digna baptismi sacramento respondeamus, ut ad sacras illas epulas frequenter ac pure accedamus, ut non multum sit in vita, quod pœnitentiæ cauterio sit exurendum. Quid autem nunc loquar de quæstionculis non solum supervacaneis, sed pene dixerim impiis, quas movenus de



potestate Dei, de potestate Romani pontificis? An Deus possit quodvis malum, etiam odium sui præcipere, et omne bonum prohibere, etiam amorem et cultum sui. An possit actu infinitum secundum omnem dimensionem producere. An potuerit hunc mundum etiam ab æterno meliorem facere quam fecit. An possit producere hominem, qui peccare nullo modo queat. An revelare possit alicui suum futurum peccatum aut damnationem. Num possit aliqua distincte intelligere, si ad illa non habeat distinctas relationes rationis. An possit respectum producere sine fundamento et termino. An possit naturam universalem producere et conservare sine singularibus. An possit aliquo prædicamento contineri. An potestatem creandi possit communicare creaturæ. An possit ex facto facere infectum: ac per hoc ex meretrice facere virginem. An quælibet persona divina possit quamlibet naturam assumere, quomodo Verbum humanam assumsit. An tres personæ possint simul eandem naturam assumere. An unum suppositum creatum possit alteram naturam creatam assumere. An hæc propositio, Deus est scarabæus, aut cucurbita, tam possibilis sit, quam hæc, Deus est homo. An Deus assumerit individuum humanum, an speciem. An potius conveniat Deo, non posse facere impossibile, an impossibile non posse fieri a Deo. Utrum prius conveniat Deo posse producere, an creaturæ posse produci. An in mente divina sint omnium rerum ideæ, et illæ practicæne sint, an speculativæ. An doctrinæ Aristotelicæ et naturali rationi sit consentaneum; denique an ipsa res cogat fateri aliquem esse respectum ab omnibus rebus absolute distinctum. An Deus aliquo ab ipso distincto sit unus. An personæ divinæ vero numero dicantur tres. An numerus personarum in divinis pertineat ad substantiam, an relationem. Et an ad primam intentionem, an secundam. An per relationes et distinguantur et constituentur. An Pater producat Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, ratione intellectus, an voluntatis. Item an ratione essentiæ, an attributi, naturaliter an libere. An essentia in Patre sit principium generativum Filii, et an sit terminus paternæ generationis. An Deus generet Deum. An Pater prius origine producat Spiritum Sanctum quam Filius. An in Deo sit intellectus agens et possibilis. An Spiritus Sanctus procedens a Patre

et Filio, ab uno principio proficiscatur, an a duobus. An hæc propositio sit possibilis, Pater Deus odit Filium Deum. An anima Christi potuerit falli, an fallere, an mentiri.

Jam vero de Romani pontificis potestate pene negotiosius disputatur quàm de potestate Dei, dum quærimus de duplici illius potestate, et an possit abrogare quod scriptis Apostolicis decretum est. An possit aliquid statuere, quod pugnet cum doctrina Evangelica. An possit novum articulum condere in fidei symbolo. Utrum majorem habeat potestatem quam Petrus, an parem. An possit præcipere angelis. An possit universum purgatorium, quod vocant, tollere. Utrum simplex homo sit, an quasi Deus, an participet utramque naturam cum Christo. An clementior sit quam fuerit Christus, cum is non legatur quemquam a purgatoriis pœnis revocasse. An solus omnium non possit errare. Sexcenta id genus disputantur magnis editis voluminibus, idque a magnis theologis, præsertim professione religionis insignibus. Atque hæc fiunt non sine manifesta suspitione adulationis, nec sine injuria Christi, ad quem collati principes, quantumvis magni, quid aliud sunt quam vermiculi? An putant hæc placere Leoni nostro, germano veroque Christi vicario, qui tanquam verus pastor nihil habet antiquius salute gregis Christiani, ut verus Christi vicarius nihil habet charius gloria principis sui Christi? Et tamen hujusmodi quæstiunculis serio occupantur quorundam theologorum scholæ. His ætas rerum omnium fugacissima conteritur, cum pleraque sint ejus generis, ut doctius nesciantur quam sciantur, ut ridicule quærantur, temere definiantur. Breve tempus est, et arduum est negotium agere vere Christianum. Quin igitur omissis rebus supervacaneis, ea potissimum spectamus, quæ Christus nos scire voluit, quæ prodiderunt Apostoli, quæ proprie ad charitatem faciunt, de corde puro, et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta, quam unam Paulus appellat finem et perfectionem totius legis. Tot jam annis cavillamur in scholis, quibus verbis sit loquendum de Christo. An hæc propositio sit vera, Christus fuit ab æterno; an recte dicatur compositus ex utraque natura an constare; an conflatus, an commixtus; an conglutinatus, an coagmentatus; an ferruminatus, an copulatus. Nihil horum placet, tantum placet *unitus*,

novum verbum, cum nihil minus significet, quam hoc cui significando repertum est. Porro si quæreretur, an predicamus naturam humanam unitam divinæ, fatentur pie dici. Rursus, an pie dicatur divina unita humanæ, ambigunt. Si hæc essent colloquia pomeridiana Christianorum, probarem hujusmodi sermonibus excludi fabulas ineptas. Nunc hæc videntur fidei nostræ præsidia. Quærimus ea, quæ nec scire possumus, nec scire jubemur. Illa negligimus, quæ sola fuerant meditanda. Sunt autem quædam hoc ipso perniciose, quod obscuritate sua remorantur ac fatigant ingenium, melioribus alioqui rebus occupandum. Talem opinor fuisse philosophiam Pythagoræ. Et hoc nomine taxantur et ab Ethnicis Heracliti libri, in quibus Socrates jocabatur, *Opus est natatore Delio*. Certe hoc nomine Chrysostomus damnat philosophiam Platonis, quod numeris et ænigmatibus sit involuta; non aliter perniciose, quam foret tabula quæpiam elegans, quæ fugientem e prælio remoraretur. Atqui talia ferme sunt, quæ traduntur ab his qui se jactant scientia subtilis theologiæ: qui etiamsi vera prædicarent, tamen ea explicant verbis non modo sordidis, sed adeo obscuris et involutis, ut tanti non sit sic discere. Quod genus sunt, cum disputant de quatuor instantibus naturæ. Item cum disserunt, quod persona non dicit relationem originis, nec communem, sed duplicem negationem communicabilitatis in genere, non extra genus, et connotat aliquid positivum, et est nomen primæ intentionis, non secundæ. Item cum aiunt personas in divinis esse in se invicem per circumincessionem, circumincessionem vefo vocem novam nove definiunt: Circumincessio, inquiunt, est subsistentis in subsistente realiter distincto mutua præsentia assistentia in eadem essentia. Rursus cum definiunt, unio personalis, sive hypostatica, est relatio disquiperantiæ realis quidem in uno extremo cui in altero nulla realis relatio respondet. Item unio Verbi in Christo est relatio extrinsecus adveniens, terminata ad Verbum et fundata in assumpta humanitate, et est ista relatio non dependentis ad causam effectivam, sed sustentificati ad sustentificans. Hujusmodi tricarum apud istos plena sunt omnia. Et in hac theologia tam non simplici vitam omnem consumunt, qui simplicem et apostolicam profitentur. Et

qui ipso cognomine summam modestiam profitentur, hujusmodi philosophiæ professione tollunt cristas. Qui congruit apostolicæ vitæ professio cum Ethnicæ philosophiæ tanto tamque curioso studio? Os consecratum est Evangelio, et nihil crepat nisi Averroem et Aristotelem. Horretur pecuniæ contactus, et in blasphemi philosophi libris tota ducitur ætas. Veteres, qui in Paganismo aut per ætatis incitiam talia didicerant, ex his quædam decerpebant ad eruditionem Christianam. Nunc qui Christi simplicitatem profitentur, et aluntur prædicando Evangelio, talia coguntur perdiscere. Novi quendam Theologum, qui negabat annos novem sufficere ad intelligenda quæ Scotus scripsit tantum in præfationem Petri Lombardi. Audivi rursus alium, qui prædicabat fieri non posse ut quis intelligeret unam propositionem in toto Scoto, nisi metaphysicam ipsius universam teneret memoria. Hujusmodi labyrinthis Basilides, Valentinus, et Marcion captabant animos simplicium. Denique fingamus hæc esse frugifera, quanta hic occurrit opinionum pugna? Fingamus rursus omnia convenire, quam multa frustra quærentur, quam multa temere definiuntur? Et prætexunt has argutias ad revincendos Ethnicos et Hæreticos esse necessarias: quum illa nusquam sint usui, nisi inter ejusdem scholæ sodales. Non hæc eo spectant, ut suadeam esse damnamam dialecticam ac philosophiam, quæ traduntur in scholis: immodicum in frivolis studium improbo. Neque minus peccant qui nobis objiciunt fumos Cabalisticos et Talmudicos. Simile est illorum studium, qui philosophiam omnem revocarunt ad numeros. *Tempus in collecto est*, inquit Paulus, et ingens agitur negotium. Cur placent ista dispendia? Tradantur optima, idque quantum licet compendio; resecentur supervacanea. Quod utinam facerent et jureconsulti. Quin illud potius agimus, quibus rebus transformemur in Christum. Id fiet, si meditemur pro viribus illius innocentiam, abstinentes ab omni flagitio, si, quantum in nobis est, æmulemur illius charitatem, de omnibus bene merentes, si imitemur patientiam, adeo non retaliantes injuriam, ut etiam pro malefactis rependamur benefacta.

Such is the *scholastic theology*, and such are the *schoolmen*, whom Erasmus held in contempt, but who still have

their friends and admirers; for it is not to be expected that mystical or metaphysical jargon should ever go quite out of fashion. It is a trade which a man may set up at a small expense.

1 Tim. II. 9. C. DCCCCXXXII. N. 14.

*Amictu modesto.*—Non satis tutum est hoc præcipere mulierculis, præcipue Britannicis, aut etiam Italis, quæ sua sponte satis comuntur.

1 Tim. III. 2. C. DCCCCXXXIII. N. 4.

*Unius uxoris virum.*—At nunc non solum a tot presbyteris exigitur castitas, verum etiam matrimonium, ab hypodiaconis contractum dirimitur. Quin id quoque vehementer adstringunt, quod eo seculo, quo summa erat sacerdotum raritas, instituit Paulus servandum in episcopis, ut non adiret hunc honorem digamus. Jam enim, cum tot sint sacerdotum ubique millia, excluduntur a sacerdotio, qui vel imprudentes duxerint corruptam; imo qui ante baptismum habuerint uxorem, et a baptismo duxerit alteram priore defuncta, arcetur a sacerdotio, licet hac in parte gnaviter reclamante Hieronymo. Quin illud magis mirum, cum tot egregias dotes requirat Paulus in episcopo, cæteris prætermissis, solius uxoris habetur ratio. Admittitur incestus, admittitur homicida, admittitur pirata, admittitur Sodomita, sacrilegus, parricida, denique quis non? Solus digamus excluditur ab hoc honore, qui solus nihil admisit. Mirum est autem ut quædam urgeamus ac plusquam mordicus teneamus, ad quædam prorsus conniventes. Si quis perpendat horum temporum statum, quotam hominum portionem monachorum greges occupent, quotam sacerdotum et clericorum collegia; deinde perpendat, quam pauci e tanto numero vere servent vitæ castimoniam, tum in quæ libidinum genera quam innumeri devertant, quanto cum probro complures palam incesti sint et impudici, fortassis judicabit magis expedire, ut iis, qui prorsus non continent, jus fiat publici matrimonii, quod absque mala fama, pure sancteqque colant, potius quam infeliciter ac turpiter libidinentur. Nunc cœlibes habet mundus quam plurimos, castos perpaucos: quanquam nec is castus est, qui Venerem non

attingit, quia non licet. Sed etiam atque etiam vereor, ne census ecclesiastici castrent hodie clericos verius quam pietas, dum metuimus, ne quod tenemus intercipiatur, aut certe nihil accedat.

1 Tim. III. 16. C. DCCCCXXXVI. N. 27.

Θεὸς ἐφανερώθη.—Mihi subolet *Deum* additum fuisse adversus hæreticos Arianos, &c.

The true reading seems to be *μυσήριον*. Ὁ ἐφανερώθη, &c. *Id quod. That which was manifested, &c.*

1 Tim. IV. 14. C. DCCCCXXXVIII. N. 22.

Antiquitus nihil intererat inter presbyterum, sacerdotem, et episcopum, ut testatur et divus Hieronymus. Deinde, propter schisma, e multis delectus est episcopus.

1 Tim. V. 8. C. DCCCCXL. N. 13.

—At hodie iudicio quorundam summa habetur pietas, si quis, domi relictis liberis et uxore, aut etiam grandævis parentibus, vel Hierosolymas abeat, vel in monasterium abdat sese, sibi victurus, aut fortassis etiam ventri.

2 Tim. II. 15. C. DCCCCLV. N. 24.

Collatio (inquit Ambrosius) *inter Dei servos esse debet, non altercatio*.—A qua quidem regula quantum absunt, qui hodie virulentis libellis ac linguis sese lacerant, tam impie crudeles in proximum, quam turpiter adulantes erga principes, viderint alii.

2 Tim. III. 2. C. DCCCCLVIII. N. 2.

Φίλαντοι. *Sui amantes*.—Hugo Carrensis plane theologice explicuit hanc vocem; cujus equidem verba cum suo flore subscribam: *Sicut, inquit, solet dici de ribaldo, qui, quando magnum frigus est, amplectitur se brachiis, ut sic calefaciat se quoquo modo, et dicitur derisorie, Iste ribaldus multum diligit se, qui sic se amplectitur brachiis. An non flagitium fustuario dignum, sic nugari in adorandis literis, idque tam indocte, non solum impie? Et tamen hæc legunt attoniti, qui *Moriæ* lusum ferre non possunt. Saltem qui tam impense favent Carrensi, negent hæc ab ipso scripta, sed ab illius sodalibus parum sobriis addita.*

## 2 Tim. IV. 13. C. DCCCCLXII. N. 21.

O supellectilem Apostolicam! penulam quæ defendat ab imbribus, et libros aliquot, haud dubie sacros. Nunc quantum est caballorum, quantum bombardarum, quantum aliarum rerum, quas referre non libet.

## Tit. III. 10. C. DCCCCLXXIII. N. 14.

*Hæreticum devita.*—Hic locus est, quem senex quidam theologus, et in primis severus, in concilio produxit. Cum venisset in quæstionem, num quis esset locus in literis canonicis, qui juberet hæreticum affici supplicio capitis, *Devita, devita*, inquit, putans *devitare* Latinis esse de vita tollere. Id ne quis suspicetur meum esse commentum, accepi ex Joanne Coletto, viro spectatæ integritatis, quo præsidente res acta est. Eamus nunc et negemus periculosum esse errare in verbis. Sic jureconsulti furem suspendunt, quod lex latronem plecti capite jubet, et Gallorum vulgus furem latronem appellat. Sic medici frequenter errant, magno capitis nostri periculo, dum ob inscitiam vocabulorum venenum porrigunt pro remedio.

## Hebr. XI. 1. C. MXXII. N. 1.

—Deblaterat et alia ferme hujus generis vulgatissimum glossema in caput De summa Trinitate et fide catholica. Quorum est illud: *Symbolum dicitur a syn, quod est simul, et bolus morsus: quod singuli Apostolorum attulerint morsellum suum.*

## Hebr. XI. 37. C. MXXVII. N. 45.

Ἐν μηλώταις, &c.

A French Dominican, who hath written a book on the antiquities of the monastic state, hath made some remarks on the note of Erasmus upon this verse. He observes that a badger is called *meles* or *melis*, and sometimes *taxus*, by Latin writers. But the word *taxus*, in this sense, seems to be of recent date. See Harduin's Pliny, i. 462. and Act. Erudit. xxi. 73.

## Hebr. XIII. 24. C. MXXIII. N. 18.

Optime lector, nihilo minoris velim esse tibi hanc epistolam, quod a multis dubitatum sit Pauli esset, an alterius. Certe cujuscunque est, multis nominibus digna est quæ legatur a Christianis. Et ut a stylo Pauli, quod ad phrasim attinet, longe lateque discrepat: ita ad spiritum ac pectus Paulinum vehementer accedit, &c.

## 1 Pet. V. 3. C. MLV. N. 8.

Præceptum Apostolorum principis in omnibus omnium episcoporum aulis vel aureis literis oportebat inscribi: Pascite, inquit, gregem; non opprimate, non expilate: idque non coacte, velut ex officio, sed ex sincero affectu, tanquam patres, neque turpis lucri gratia, quasi præsentiens Ecclesiæ pestem hinc orituram. Denique non dominantes more regum, sed exemplo pascite, benefactis vincite. Nunc episcoporum vulgus nihil audit ab assentatoribus doctis, nisi, dominia, ditiones, gladios, claves, potestates: atque hinc fastus quorundam plusquam regius, sævitia plusquam tyrannica.

So it was, it seems, in the days of Erasmus: but things are altered for the better, not only in our country, but, I believe, in other regions also.

## 1 Joh. V. 7. C. MLXXIX. N. 3.

This text of the *three witnesses in heaven*, was omitted by Erasmus in his first and second edition; but inserted afterwards, upon the authority of one MS. which is called by him *Codex Britannicus*. But Erasmus suspected that this MS. had been accommodated by the transcriber to the Latin version.

This *Codex Britanicus* (which is the *Codex Montfortii*, and the *manuscript of Dublin*) hath the passage, in the following manner, as I have transcribed it from a manuscript \* letter of John Ycard, dean of Killala:

\* Written August 5, 1720, to the Bishop of Meath; and sent by the Bishop to Dr. S. Clarke. It is in the hands of Mr. Emlyn.



Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος, καὶ αἵματος καὶ ὕδατος ἁγίου ἐν  
 χυρῶν ὄνυχ ἐν τῷ ὕδατι μόνον ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ αἵματι. Καὶ  
 τὸ πᾶν ἐστὶ τὸ μαρτυροῦν ὅτι ὁ χυρῶν ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια. ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν  
 οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ ὄνυχῳ, πῆρ, λόγος καὶ ὕδατος ἁγίου, Καὶ  
 οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, ἐν εἰσί. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῆ  
 πᾶσι, ὕδατος, καὶ αἷμα, ἐκ τῆν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνῶν λαμβάνομεν,  
 ἢ μαρτυρία του θυ μείζων ἐστίν.

Concerning this contested passage, see Erasmus and Wetstein on the place, and Wetst. Prolegom. p. 52. 182. T. Emlyn's works, vol. ii. two letters of Sir I. Newton, printed in 1754. Le Clerc's Bibl. A. and M. xviii. p. 404. and Mr. de Missy's Remarks in Dr. Maty's Journal, tom. viii. 194. ix. 66. xv. 148.

Simon in his Dissert. Crit. sur les MSS. du N. T. hath confuted the silly arguments of Arnauld in defence of this text. This Arnauld had the good luck to be cried up by a party, and to be esteemed far beyond his literary merits, as it is usual on such occasions.

Maittaire in his Annal. Typ. hath also defended this text; but he says nothing that deserves the least notice and regard.

Longuerue composed a dissertation to show that this passage is spurious: whether he published it, I know not.

### C. MCXXIII.

The notes of Erasmus on the Apocalypse are short and slight. He suspected that it was not the work of St. John. See his last note, C. MCXXIII.

### DE QUINTO EDITIONIBUS ERASMI.

LICET Editio N. T. Complutensis Erasmanam integro biennio anteverterit, ejus tamen exemplaria non nisi multis

Wetstenius; Proleg. ad N. T.

annis postea publicari cœperunt, cum cardinalis Ximenius ea trahi nollet, priusquam totius operis biblici impressio ad finem perducta esset, quod contigit A. 1517. Ulteriore remoram dein injecit ipsa papa Leo X. qui demum A. 1520 permisit, ut exemplaria venderentur, cui accesserunt et alia, ita ut anno demum 1522, hoc est, post tertiam Erasmianam editionem ista Complutensis in manus Erasmi perveniret. Cum vero Erasmus non solum edito N. T. magnam sibi simul et laudem et invidiam pepererit, verum etiam cum ejus editio diu pro norma, tantum non unica, genuini textus habita fuerit, operæ pretium esse puto, si paulo accuratius examinaverimus, quomodo sese in toto eo negotio vir ille magnus gesserit.

Codex ejus primum prodit A. 1516. calendis Martii. Ad hanc editionem adornandam adhibuit quinque codices, præter eos, qui, ubi ad Acta et Epistolas ventum fuerit, describentur. Operis typographicis una cum ipso intendit animum Joannes Œcolampadius, cujus hoc ad calcem libri exstat testimonium: *Ego vero, cui hac hieme theologie alioquin apud Basilienses vacaturo felicissima magni Erasmi consuetudo contigit, non possum non testari infatigabilem hominis strenuitatem, vix credendam in tractando fidem.—Admirabile enim spectaculum mihi erat—dictantem recognoscentemque, quantum tria præla exciperent, videre, ac nihilo secius interim Græca Latinaque exemplaria, eaque varia et vetustissima consulentem, Græcos Latinosque interpretes conferentem, priscos ac recentiores primæ simul ac infimæ classis scriptores perpendentem. Hinc est quod non sensa modo aperuerit, sed nec verba minima, articulosque ipsos, et apiculos minutissimos præterierit.—Suarum etiam laudum partem in alios rejicit, quale et illud exemplum, cum me, subsidiariam solum in castigandis formulis operam, accersitum a Frobenio chalcographorum omnium diligentissimo, perinde ac non asymbolum, Thesea etiam suum vocare dignatus est.*

Hæc ipsa editio, ne exceptis quidem erroribus typographicis, repetita est Venetiis ab Andrea Asulano, Aldi socero, A. 1518. mense Febuario, atque Erasmo, ut par erat, inscripta. Millius tamen observavit, in centum circiter locis textum Erasmicum in hac editione emendatum fuisse,

ac totidem fere locis vitiatum. Quod vero Asulanus, in præfatione integro Bibliorum volumini a se edito præfixa: *Ego, inquit, multis vetustissimis exemplaribus collatis, adhibita etiam quorundam eruditissimorum hominum cura, Biblia, ut vulgo appellant, Græce cuncta descripsi, atque in unum volumen reponenda curavi; id minima ex parte ad N. T. magis autem ad V. T. pertinere existimo.*

Postquam Erasmus in Belgium, atque inde in Angliam iter fecisset, ex eo itinere redux secundam editionem procuravit, quæ ipso absente prodiit Basileæ, mense Martio, 1519; ut titulus præfert: *N. T. multo quam antehac diligentius recognitum, emendatum, ac translatum.* Inter patres numerat Athanasium, Nazianzenum, Theophylactum, quem in superiori editione *Vulgarium* vocaverat. De ea ita Frobenius ad lectorem: *Quemadmodum hanc posteriorem editionem accuratius multo recognovit et copiosius locupletavit Erasmus: sic et nos operam dedimus, ut castigatior et nitidior in lucem prodiret, ac quantum ad nos etiam attinet, priorem longe vinceret. Sed enim fuit illi soli quicquid laboris erat exhauriendum, inspiciendi veterum interpretum codices, exemplaria Græca conferenda, annotanda multa, mutanda quædam, adjicienda plurima.* A priori editione recessit, Millio numerante, locis quadringentis. De hac secunda editione ita scribit Bilibaldo Basileæ, A. 1518. *N. T. rursus novatum exhibit brevisatis elaboratum, sed aliquanto minus etiam, quam vellem, ob valetudinis adversitatem.* Ep. 374.

Tertia editio est anni 1522.—In hac primum editione locum 1 Joh. v. 7. inseruit.

Quarta editio apparuit A. 1527. Titulus ex parte ita se habet: *Joannes Frobenius candido lectori S. D. En N. T. ex Erasmi Rot. recognitione jam quartum damus, studiose lector.—In annotationibus, præterquam quod auctor exactiora reddidit omnia, magnam accessionem adjunxit ex Græcorum voluminibus, eque vetustissimis exemplaribus Latinis, quæ nuper est nactus.* In hac quarta, ut ipse Erasmus in Apologia fatetur, præsto fuit et Hispaniensis editio. Plus centies a præcedentibus editionibus recedit, teste Millio, sequiturque Complutensem; in sola Apocalypsi nonagies.

Quinta eaque ultima editio, observante Millio, nonnisi quatuor in locis a præcedenti recedit.

Summam sine dubio laudem meretur Erasmus, quod N. T. Græcum primus typis publicavit, quod plurima loca illustravit, quod mira sagacitate et improbo labore genuinam lectionem investigavit; ne alia adjiciam, quæ omnia prolixè prædicare superfluum esse puto, et fortassis otio lectoris abuti videar. Nihilominus haud pauca sunt, quæ in ista Erasmi opera jure desideramus, nollemusque factum, ut Stephanus et Beza, omnesque editores, qui hos exceperunt, auctoritatem Erasmi omnibus codicibus MSS. præpouent.

Primum quod in Erasmo merito reprehendi posse putem, unde reliqua omnia profluxerunt, istud est, quod nimis festinanter tale ac tantum negotium susceptum gesserit. Id amicis ultro fassus est; &c.

Hæc omnia licet non ignoraret Millius, nescio quomodo ad turpem tamen contradictionem delapsus est, autoremque Bibliothecæ S. post se traxit, affirmando, *Erasmus ad editionem Novi Fœderis se accinxisse circa calendas Octobres anni 1513.—ad finem perductum esse opus intra menses ferme quinque, et in lucem produsse mense Februario ann. 1516.* prol. 1.16. Si enim numeri recte essent positi, sequeretur non quinque menses, sed biennium et quinque menses huic operi Erasmus insudasse. Non animadvertit nimirum Millius, in Epistola Append. iii. ad Ananionium, quam citat, errorem typographi 1513. pro 1515. edentis. Mentio enim ibi fit belli Helvetiorum cum Gallis ad Marignanum d. 13. Septemb. 1515. commissi, mentio fit editionis Hieronymi, anno demum 1545. et 1546. procurata, et epistola data est Basilea, quo Erasmus non nisi post mediam partem exactam Anni 1514. primum appulerat; &c.

Tanta festinatio ista plurimis erroribus causam præbuit. Ut jam nihil dicam de insignibus omissionibus et mendis typographicis, ut quando *Apoc.* ii. 10. legitur *παράβητε* pro *πειράβητε*, et *γῆς* pro *ζωῆς*, &c. (quod postremum tamen erratum in calce libri emendatur) quibus, Millio teste prol. 1121. scætet Erasmi editio prima; hinc factum est, ut frequenter versio Latina a textu Græco, et annotationes ab utrisque dissentirent, cujus generis octodecim exempla

Erasmō obijcit Edovardus Leus, *in quibus citat Græce sic esse, cum sic non sit in exemplari suo : et citat sic non esse, Græce, cum sic sit in exemplari suo.*

Quam festinanter omnia gesserit Erasmus, imprimis patet ex Theophylacto, quem ad manus habuit. Ille cum in fronte hunc titulum gerat : Τῆ Θεοφιλεστάτῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπῃ Βελγαρίας κυρίῃ Θεοφυλάκτῃ ἐξηγήσεις εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου Ἐυαγγέλιον. Erasmus vocem Θεοφυλάκτῃ pro epitheto habuit; pro regione Βουλγαριᾶ autem, et in præfatione Græca Matthæo præfixa, 2, 3, 4, et 5. Editionis, Βελγαρίῃ perperam legit, et in annotationibus primæ ac secundæ editionis *Vulgarium* nescio quem substituit manifesto paroramate. Pejori errore in Marc. i. 10. dicit: Sanctum *νὸν additur in Græcis, præterquam apud Vulgarium:* quod omnino falsum est, Theophylactus enim revera cum Græcis consentit, unde in posterioribus editionibus ejus mentio ad istum locum omittitur. Gravissimum denique illud est, quod in Lucæ xi. 53. scripsit, et in omnibus editionibus retinuit: *Quod si quis, inquit, mihi fortasse parum habet fidei, ipsius Vulgarii (i. e. Theophylacti) verba adscribam: γίνεται γὰρ τὸ ἀποστομίζειν ὅταν πλείονες ἐρωτῶσιν ἓνα περὶ ἄλλων καὶ ἄλλων ὑποθέσεων, τότε γὰρ μὴ δυνάμενος ἀποκριεῖσθαι ἐμψασι δίδωσι τῷ ἀνοήτῃ ἐξαπορηθῆναι.* Versionem deinde subjungit, quam nos, quia tantum non impia videtur, consulto omitimus. In MS. autem Theophylacti, quo Erasmus usus est, manifestissime post δυνάμενος additur πᾶσιν, et pro τῷ ἀνοήτῃ ἐξαπορηθῆναι, quod ne quidem Græcum est, legitur τοῖς ἀνοήτοις τῷ ἐξαπορηθῆναι, unde sensus oritur longe luculentior et ad scopum autoris accommodatior: *Fit enim τὸ ἀποστομίζειν, cum plures interrogant unum de aliis atque aliis rebus; tunc enim cum non possit omnibus respondere, speciem præbet simplicioribus quasi hærentis et impediti.*

Illud denique in Erasmo minime ferendum est, quod sæpe excusationibus parum idoneis nec satis honestis uti, quam erroris culpam simpliciter fateri maluerit. Causatur festinationem. At quomodo ipsam festinationem excusabit, aut quis ipsum eo adegit, ut festinaret?

Alias causam conjicit in typosetas et correctores, ubi quid offensum est, &c.

Alibi ad codices provocat, qui nusquam exstant, &c.

Paucorum suorum codicum ætatem et fidem nimium extollit, alios autem omnes corruptionis immerito suspectos reddere conatur, &c.

Cumque hæc duo postrema accusationis capita ipsi ab adversariis objecta essent, simpliciter negando ac in illos retorquendo, sese magis oneravit quam liberavit, &c.

Errorem in Theophylacti appellatione commissum ita palliare conatur contra Stunic. in Joh. i. *Aderant*, inquit, *Commentarii Græci Theophylacti, quem nos toties adduximus nomine Vulgarii, quod Theophylacti vocabulum ob literas detritas vix legi posset.* Cum tamen *Theophylacti* nomen in hoc MS. oculis legentium apertius pateat expressum quam *Vulgarii*.

Textum a se formatum auctoritate editionis Aldinæ tueri solet, responsione ad notationes Eduardi Lei sæpissime, cum minime ignoraret, hanc esse ex prima ipsius editione, ut supra indicavimus expressam. Ne jam dicam, quod auctoritatem editionis Complutensis nimis extulerit, et præstantiam atque ætatem codicum, ad quos expressa sit, ex ingenio confinxerit, quod causæ nimirum suæ favere videbat.

In Apocalypsi deerant quædam capite xxii. quæ Erasmus ex Latinis male Græca fecit. *Quamquam* (inquit in Annot. edit. 1.) *in calce hujus libri nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros, quæ aberant in Græcis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex Latinis adjecimus.* Quæ contra Leum, § 243. prolixius ita narrat: *Quoniam Græcis nunquam magnopere placuit liber Apocalypseos, rarus habetur apud illos. Itaque quum cuperemus nihil abesse nostræ editioni, ægre extorsimus ab inclyto viro Joanne Capnionem vetustissimum codicem, commentarium habentem in hoc opus. Ex eo contextus verba describenda curavimus, in calce vero, scribarum incuria, deerant hæc: Et si quis diminuerit de verbis libri prophetiæ hujus, auferet Deus partem ejus de libro Vitæ, et de civitate sancta, et de his, quæ scripta sunt in libro isto. Sensimus autem scribam per eam occasionem errasse, quod quum bis ponatur: in libro isto, ille ad posterius oculos deflexerit, relictis quæ sunt in medio. Siquidem ad nullum lapidem frequentius impingunt librarii. Dubium non erat, quin*

essent omissa, et erant perpauca. Proinde nos, ne hiaret lacuna, ex nostris Latinis supplevimus Græca. Quod ipsum tamen nolimus laterè lectorem, fassi in annotationibus, quid a nobis esset factum, ut si quid dissiderent verba nostra ab his, quæ posuisset autor hujus operis, lector nactus exemplar restitueret. Et clarius in Apologia ad Leum: In calce Apocalypsis in exemplari, quod tum nobis erat unicum, nam is liber apud Græcos rarus est inventu, deerat unus atque alter versus. Fos nos addidimus secuti Latinos codices. Et erant ejusmodi, ut ex his, quæ præcesserant possent reponi. Cum igitur Basileam mitterem recognitum exemplar, scripsi amicis, ut ex editione Aldina restituerent eum locum. Nam mihi nondum emtum erat hoc opus. Id ita, ut jussi, factum est.

Accuratius tamen omnia rimanti satis constat, non ut Erasmus scribit, *perpauca* fuisse, quæ ipse ex Latinis utcunque et festinanter Græce reddidit, sed a vers. 16. ad finem libri sex integros versus. In istis enim omnibus Erasmi editio abit a codicibus MSS. et ita quidem, ut Græca ipsius non obscurum sit ex Latinis fuisse conversa. Hinc enim profecta est perpetua illa omissio articulorum vers. 16. ῥίζα pro ἡ ῥίζα, λαμπρός pro ὁ λαμπρός, vers. 18. προφητείας βιβλίας pro τῆς προφητείας τῆ βιβλίας, ζωῆς pro τῆς ζωῆς, πόλεως ἁγίας pro τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας. Hinc est quod συμμαρτυρεῖμαι inepte posuit pro μαρτυρεῖμαι, quia in Latina versione legerat *contestor*; quomodo iste interpres solet simplex μαρτυρῶ\ vertere.—Hinc etiam est, quod ubi ipsi Latini codices variant, eam lectionem imprudens sequitur, quæ ab omnibus Græcis dissidet; quod denique ὄθριμος pro πρῶνιμος, ἔλθε bis pro ἔρχε, εἰ bis pro εἶ, et ἀφαιρήσει pro ἀφελεί. Uno verbo, hæc interpretatio ex Latino in Græcum Erasmo adeo infeliciter cessit, ut Græca ipsius a Græcis codicum. in tam brevi pericopa minimum tricies aberrerent. Quin etiam existimo, quod ex parte etiam suspicatus est Bengelius, alibi passim in hoc codice Erasmano Commentariorum Andreae, verba sacri contextus, quæ aut revera, ut fit, aut Erasmi saltem iudicio, non integra ab Andrea adscripta fuerant, ab Erasmo ex Latinæ versionis mendoso codice fuisse addita. Ita cap. v. 14. post verbum προσεκύνησαν addit ζῶντι εἰς τὸς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων, contra

omnes codices Græcos, et contra indolem Græci sermonis, quæ articulum τῶ̄ ante ζῶντι requirebat, ex versione Vulgata, quæ habet *adoraverunt viventem in secula seculorum*; repugnantibus plurimis, iisque vetustissimis codicibus Latinis. xvii. 4. μεστον ἀκαθάρτητος, iterum contra omnes codices Græcos vocem nihili ἀκαθάρτης confinxit, ad versionem Vulgatam, quæ legit, *plenum abominatione*; ubi tamen codices magno consensu habent, ut Græci et Beda, *plenum abominationum*. xxii. 11. ὁ ῥυπαῶν ῥυπωσάτω ἔτι, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω ἔτι, ut versio Vulgata: *qui in sordibus est, sordescat adhuc, et qui justus est, justificetur adhuc*: contra scriptos omnes codices Græcos, et plurimos Latinos.

Illud vero miror, cur Erasmus nactus editionem Complutensem, cujus MSS. fidem alias tantopere prædicat, ista non, ut promiserat, restituerit, sed corruperit potius. Cum enim ipse in prioribus editionibus Latinum *si* bis vertisset per *ei*, postea in Complutensi reperta conjunctione *ἐάν*, non istam illi substituit, sed in quarta et quinta edit. absurde utrumque posuit *ἐάν ei*, reliqua vero retinuit, præcipue suum ἀφαιρήσει, quod in libris sacris plane inusitatum est.

Quid, quod Colinæus, Stephanus, Haultinus, Beza, et cum Elzevirio plerique omnes typographi sequentes non lectionem codicum MSS. et verba auctoris, sed verba Erasmi ex Latino versa pro genuino textu repræsentaverint? quæ sane supina est negligentia, et illis, qui de Græcis fontibus adeo gloriuntur, versionemque Latinam contemnunt, minime condonanda.

Ut jam non repetam, quod Erasmus lectionem eorum quos habebat codicum Evangeliorum, Actorum, et Epistolarum aliquoties temere mutaverit, cujus rei vestigia adhucdum in ipsis codicibus manifesta conspiciuntur.— Quin nequæ ipse diffitetur, ultro ad amicos scribens, *se codices suos præcastigasse*. Wetsten. Proleg. ad N. T.

Codicem Vaticanum esse vetustissimum et spectatæ fidei, et editores Complutenses eo fuisse usos, affirmavit, et postea negavit Erasmus. Proleg. p. 25.

Codex Basiliensis B. vi. 27. Erasmo videtur ad Vulgatam Latinorum et recentem lectionem emendatus. Ab hac Erasmi sententia discessi, fateor, — at re postea accuratius examinata, non dubito Erasmo assentiri, &c. p. 44.



—Si vero aberratio librarii Erasmo jure visa est ridicula, dubito quo nomine appellem vel factum vel excusationem Erasmi ipsius; cum enim secundæ editionis N. T. p. 98. et 99. loco alieno imago Trinitatis, i. e. columba capiti Christi, gremio Dei Patris impositi, insidens fuisset ex hoc codice expressa, una cum confessione Græca fidei Christianæ; Edvardus vero Leus hanc confessionem obscuram et heterodoxiæ suspectam pronuntiasset, Erasmus in Apologiæ contra Leum libello primo hæc respondit: *In exemplari, quod nobis commodavit honorabile collegium Corsondoncense, inter varias picturas habebatur et hæc divina Τρίτης cum ambientibus angelorum choris. Sub hac aureis literis habebantur distincta, quæ sic tribuuntur personis divinis, ut eadem sint omnium: rursus quæ numero multitudinis illis attribuuntur. Deinde fidei Symbolum, sub quo pictus erat homo, nonnihil sublatus a terra, jamque ceu fidei alis tendens in coelum. Hæc pictura delectatus Frobenius, ut opinor, absente atque inscio me, quod illic viderat addidit suo volumini. Ejus facti invidiam Leus impingit mihi.*—p. 45.

Tandem Erasmus omnium doctorum, et præcipue omnium protestantium, judicio vicit causam suam, ita ut studium hoc, quod in colligendis atque examinandis variis lectionibus Novi Testamenti Latinis vel Græcis ponimus, certatim doctis commendaretur, neque quisquam, qui existinationi suæ consultum cupiebat, per duo inde elapsa secula illud aperte oppugnare auderet. p. 105.

*Inter duas Græcorum codicum variantes lectiones, ea quæ cum antiquis versionibus consentit, non est alteri facile postponenda.*

Contra hanc regulam sæpius peccavit Erasmus, cui cum versio Latina tanquam semibarbara valde displiceret, hoc fastidio abreptus, quam potuit sæpissime ab ea recedendum sibi putavit, quem postea omnes fere, qui ab ecclesia Latina dissentiunt, certatim secuti sunt. At vero meminisse oportebat, versionem hanc non esse doctoris alicujus pontificii, sed Hieronymi, qui eam adornavit, codicum Græcorum emendatam collatione; sed veterum; quod de iis, qui primi Novum Testamentum Græcum typis ediderunt, vere prædicare non possumus. Adhibenda tamen hic est cautio, de qua monui. T. ii. p. 867. Wetstenius,

IN the second Edition of the N. T. of Erasmus, the Nicene Creed is prefixed, with a diagram containing a declaration of the Christian faith with respect to the Trinity, and also a picture representing the Three Divine Persons. See Maittaire ii. 7.

Miles Coverdale published an English translation of the Bible in 1550, and dedicated it to Edward VI. In his preface he reckons *Vulgarius* amongst the fathers of the church. Maittaire iii. 585, makes mention of this edition, and declares himself quite at a loss, and unable to guess who this *Vulgarius* should be. He knew nothing, it seems, of the history of this blunder. Erasmus, by a strange mistake, gave the name of *Vulgarius* to *Theophylact*. Being censured for this, he made a shuffling excuse; but was sensible of his error, and afterwards called him by his true name, *Theophylact*, in the second<sup>2</sup>, and the following editions of the New Testament. Coverdale then was misled by Erasmus, which is somewhat strange, since Erasmus had corrected the mistake in his notes. But there is another error about *Theophylact*, which runs through all the editions of the New Testament of Erasmus, even that of Basil 1540, and that of Leyden 1705. It is in the title to the preface of *Theophylact* upon Matthew. In the manuscript from which Erasmus took it, it was :

Τῆ Θεοφιλεστάτῃ ἀρχιεπισκόπῃ Βελγαρίας κυρίῃ Θεοφυλάκτῃ ἐξήγησις.—

but in the editions of Erasmus it is Βελγαρίῃ, by a mistake of Erasmus.

See Wetstein's Prolegomena, who in p. 124. l. 1. says—Βελγαρίον perperam legit [Erasmus]. But this is a fault of the press, in Wetstein, for Βελγαρίου.

<sup>2</sup> *De secunda editione Novi Testamenti per Erasmus curata.*

—Secunda N. T. editio ex officina Frobeniana, A. 1519. mense Martio prodit. Quinque magnus ille scientiarum

<sup>2</sup> Wetstein says the *third*; but Erasmus corrected it in his *second* edition.

<sup>2</sup> *Amœnit. Literar.* by Schelhorne, i. 222.

atque literaturæ politionis vindex et instaurator, dum viveret, emisit N. T. editiones A. 1516. 1519. 1522. 1527. et 1535. in singulis nova diligentia usus. Omnium vero rarissimæ sunt prima et secunda. In laudanda ex merito prima multus est vir celeberrimus, et de Erasmi manibus optime meritus Hermannus von der Hardt, in *Historia Literaria Reformationis* p. 1. passim, præcipue p. 33. seqq.—Idem deinde elogia primæ editioni, cum vix e prelo exisset, tributa, historiam liticulæ, a Budæo motæ Erasmo, ejus conflictationem cum Fabro Stapulensi, et varias variorum in nostrum calumnias, ab ipso explosas, curate persequitur: denique, p. 101. de secunda editione paucis ita disserit, ut plenius de ea aliquando se dicturum spondeat. Id an a viro literatissimo præstitum jam sit, me quidem fugit. Interim tenues ego ducturus lineas, brevem ejus recensum instituiam, strictim simul illa, quæ ad hujus editionis historiam pertinent, enarraturus, cum ejus præsertim et Jacobus le Long, in ipsa etiam recentissima Bibliothecæ Sacræ editione Parisiensi, paucissimis duntaxat meminerit. Post breve igitur, quod vocant, Leonis X. quo laudantur Erasmi in N. T. lucubrationes, et dedicationem ad Leonem, comparet editoris paraclesis ad lectorem, &c.—Post hæc exhibet Erasmus varia, quæ in vulgato potissimum interprete, ipso judice, censuram merentur, per certas classes disposita. I. Notantur solœcismi ab interprete commissi manifestarii et inexcusabiles, e pluribus pauci decerpti. II. Loca obscura, et in quibus lapsi sint magni nominis interpretes, ex innumeris pauca. III. Loca manifeste depravata, ex infinitis, ut occurrebant, pauca. IV. Ad placandos eos, qui putant in S. S. Literis nihil neque superesse, neque deesse, quædam excerpta, quæ manifestius depravata sunt in hoc genere, quam ut negari possit. V. Quæ sint addita in nostris exemplaribus. VI. Quæ per interpretem commissa. VII. Ubi interpres ausus sit aliquid <sup>b</sup> immutare de verbis apostolorum aut evangelistarum. Post illa conspicitur figura ligno incisa, tres divinæ

<sup>b</sup> Sed hoc ipso, quam parum ipsi perspecta fuerit translationis Vulgatæ natura atque indoles, ostendisse Erasmus monet Millius in *Prolegomenis Novi Testamenti* num. 1125. p. 113. atque multa, in hisce septem classibus observata, censoria virgula notat.

essentiæ personas, angelorum choro stipatas, rudi<sup>c</sup> tamen delineatione adumbrans, cui decem piæ antiquitatis aphorismi Græci de S. S. Triade subjiciuntur, addito etiam eadem lingua Symbolo Nicæno. Hisce Arianismi suspicione levare se voluisse Erasmus credo.—Ad latus textus originalis semper posita est Erasmi versio Latina: margini Evangeliorum adscriptæ divisiones Ammoniacæ, cum tabulis canonis Eusebiani collatæ: superiorem vero foliorum oram ornant majora κ:Φάλαια, in quæ olim divisa erant Ἐὐαγγελία. In Epistolis ad Romanos et Corinthios ad marginem interiorem notatæ sunt, negligenter admodum, iudice Millio, literis numeralibus κ:Φάλαια, sive sectiones, in quas divisas voluit quispiam (fortasse Theophylactus, ut idem suspicatur Millius) has epistolas. Textus integer continuo filo nexus sine capitum spatiis aut intervallis conspicitur, numero capitum ad marginem duntaxat Latinæ versionis adpicto: quod institutum summopere probatur Hermanno von der Hardt. Hæc editio, censente Millio, priore longe emaculatio et castigatio, veram et genuinam lectionem in priori depravatam locis amplius 230 restituit; sed et ab ea recedit locis circiter 70 in lectiones interpolatas et minime probandas.

Notum est, in ea non comparere locum<sup>o</sup> 1 Joh. v. 7. quem in Græcis codicibus haud invenisse se monuit in Annotationibus Erasmus.—Quanti vero hoc in opere Erasmo fuerint exantlandi labores, quantæ molestiæ devorandæ, quot convitiæ et criminationes, quibus consilium hoc laude dignissimum perstrinxere insulsi ignorantæ fratres, tolerandæ, ipse passim, in epistolis potissimum suis, meminit.—Prima N. T. editione in se concitaverat bilem rabiemque elegantioris literaturæ et cœlestis veritatis hostium, quorum intererat, ut orbis spissis illis inscitæ tenebris septus quovis modo detineretur. Fuere tamen quoque, qui avidissime divina illa munera Erasmi exceperunt. Horum in gratiam hunc lapidem ulterius movere, et, quod semel cœperat, opus sensim sensimque summa adhibita industria ad maturitatem perducere statuit. Hinc nova erat paranda editio, factus

<sup>c</sup> Seorsim quoque adjecta est imaguncula viri per nubes ambulantis. Hæ figuræ in tertia jam editione omissæ sunt. See above, p. 375.

lambendus et relambendus, initiisque egregia adjicienda incrementa. Ad os vero sycophantis obturandum conducibile sibi fore duxit Breve Papæ, quo opus hoc ipsi gratum esse testetur. — Nondum tamen irarum rabidi ita requievire fluctus. Satis enim causæ fuit et posthac Desiderio nostro, de obrectatorum invidia acriter conquerendi, plumbeosque et infrunitos adversarios, prout digni erant, salse exagitandi. — Cum hanc editionem adhuc parturiret, erant, qui ipsi vitio verterunt, quod prima vix in lucem egressa novum statim moliretur opus, atque ita primum laborem sibimetipsi displicere restatum faceret. — Præcipue insulsus homo, Nicolaus Egmondanus, juratus Erasmi hostis, qui primam jam editionem conviciis proscindere laboraverat, in euni fingere opprobria, rabidoque ore famam ejus vulnerare nunquam destitit. — Nactus est adversarios, qui libris eum impetiere, Jac. Lop. Stunicam, Edvardum Leum, Sutorem, Natalem Bedam, alios, non omnes prorsus illiteratos. Cum primis in Stunica insignis linguarum orientalium peritia laudatur, qui ad opus Biblicum Complutense inter cæteros a card. Xi nenio adhiberi meruit. Hujus annotationes contra Erasmus, tom. vii. Criticorum SS. p. 1229. seqq. cum nostri apologia insertæ sunt — De cæteris nihil addo, nisi hoc unum Edvardi Lei librum, adversus Erasmus scriptum, a Germano quodam, in bibliotheca Minoritarum Lovaniensium, in autoris contumeliam stercore fuisse oblitum; de quo lepido facinore extant Conradi Goclenii epigrammata. —

Nobis eo charior debet esse hæc editio, quod ipsa cum prima (quanquam hac secunda potissimum, utpote emaculatiore) et Alina, in concinnanda Novi Testamenti versione Germanica, noster Lutherus usus fuisse videtur: quod haud ita pridem luculenter evicisse arbitror Boysenium in Diss. Critico-Theol. de Codice Græco Novi Testamenti, et consilio, quo usus est B. Lutherus in conficienda interpretatione Germanica. Huic scripto occasionem præbuerunt Tobizæ Eckardi conjecturæ de codice Græco N. T. quo usus est Lutherus in conficienda Germanica interpretatione, qui Nicolai Gerbelii Hagenoensem, A. 1521. editionem B. virum secutum fuisse suspicatus erat. Idem deinde Boysenio epistolam opposuit, qua suas conjecturas erudite, et, quod majorem laudem meretur, modeste illustrare annisus est.

Cæterum Erasmi annotationes in hac secunda editione auctæ insigniter et locupletatæ sunt. Quam vero eruditæ elegantesque eæ sint, quantaque utilissimarum rerum copia refertæ, neminem paulo humaniorem latere potest.—Erasmus certe hic ubique est vere *ερασμιος*; licet enim haud raro excursus instituat prolixiores, qui ab annotationibus exegeticis alieni videri possunt, ii tamen semper sunt eruditi, ac dulcedine mira, animum jucunde afficiente, repleti. Sive monita inspergat, sive errores castiget, sive temporum calamitatem deploret, sive arrogantis inscitæ dominatum evertere conetur, sive adversarios refellat, sive disputationes immisceat, ubique et simul delectat et prodest. Acerbe, fateor, interdum invehitur in eorum scripta, quos monachorum greges tum oraculorum instar venerabantur. Scilicet ægre tulit vir laudatissimus et bono publico natus, methodicam illam, aridam, mortuam, ligneam, stramineam, artificiosam, et *φιλοσοφότεχνοδιαλεκτικοθεολογικην* theologiam hactenus unice tyrannidem et dominatum exercuisse, posthabitis ac rejectis veris divinæ sapientiæ fontibus. Quid igitur mirum, quod libertate sua atque candore irritaverit crabrones? Nec inficias eundem est, quosdam etiam viros, alias cordatos et sinceros, nugarumque, quæ nimium diu jam regnaverant, pertæsos, sed præjudiciis antiquitatis et autoritatis nondum prorsus liberatos, dentatis Erasmi invectivis fuisse offensos; qualis fuit Paulus Langius, ordinis Benedicti monachus, vir certe egregius, et veritatis testibus alias jure suo accensendus, cujus de Desiderii nostri annotationibus judicium ex Chronico Citizeñsi libentius nunc recito, quod non facile inibi illud quæsiveris. Male nimirum habuit eum, quod Hugonis cardinalis errores nugasque subinde aculeato confutaverit stylo. En ejus verba:

“Hugo primus postillator extitit totius Bibliæ, adeo pure et fideliter textum quadruplici sensu exponendo, ut eatenus vix habuerit secundum; licet Erasmus, novus Scripturarum interpres, eum ob Atticæ linguæ inscitiam, et exin ob dissonam ineptamque quarundam e Græca Græcanicarum dictionum expositionem plerumque reprehendat irrideatque, cum sapientius tanto viro condoluisset, quam exprobrando taxaret, quem in ea tempora incidisse noverat, quæ politiores literas, præcipue Græcas, totam et per Galliam et per

Germaniam prorsus incompertas et inauditas habuerant. Veruntamen plurimum laudandus est iste venerabilis Hugo, quoniam non per philosophorum et poëtarum dicta, non per Aristotelis, non per Averrois sophismata divinam probat, ne dicam contaminat Scripturam, sed verba legis per legem explanat, &c."——

Idem tamen Langius deinde Erasmus divinarum literarum summum et consummatum interpretem nominat. Forte æquis rerum æstimatoribus dandum hic aliquid esse magni nostri Desiderii ingenio, ad jocos et irrisiones aliquantum procliviori, videbitur, si consideraverint, quam inique, quam atrociter ipse vicissim exceptus fuerit ab inimicis, qui omnem suam sapientiam ex istiusmodi libris hauserant, summoque nisu literis paulatim resurgentibus adversabantur. Præterea adeo frigidæ, ineptæ, atque insulsæ sæpius erant istæ, quas refellit, exegeses, ut vel Heraclito risum extorquere—potuisse credendum sit. Ut ex solo Hugone capiamus exempla quædam, inspicite sodes Erasmi annotationes in Matt. v. 16. xix. 2. Joann. v. 2. Actor. xxvii. 12. 2 Tim. iii. 2. Tit. 1. 7. 1 Pet. ii. 24. &c. ac judica, num cardinalem istum his in locis injuria castigaverit noster.——

## TOMUS VII.

### PARAPHRASES IN NOVUM TESTAMENTUM.

#### PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

Hoc septimo summi viri Des. Erasmi Operum Volumine, opus continetur, quod inter omnes ejus lucubrationes multis maxime placuit, atque auctori minimam invidiam creavit. In hisce certe paraphrasibus, elucent summum acumen, et dexteritas singularis Erasmi, qui sensus abditos, et paucitate verborum involutos copiosiore oratione feliciter evolvit, nexumque et seriem orationis obscuriorem ingeniose illustravit; quod in Epistolis Pauli apostoli, ubi ejuscemodi cynosura plerique indigent, potissimum videre est. Quin etiam ubi traduntur Evangelica mysteria, obscurioribus verbis, ex quibus unum certum sensum, pluribus animo

pariter sese offerentibus, elicere certo non licet, magna industria, SS. patrum, præstantissimorumque interpretum sententias intertextit; ex quibus lector eam eligere queat, quæ maxime animo ejus arridebit. Sed laudare ejusmodi opus, et verbis ornare, perinde est ac meridiano soli lucem addere velle. Novimus equidem a temporibus, quibus Erasmus illustrandis sacris literis incubuit, multos exortos esse præstantissimos viros, linguæ Hebraicæ accuratiore peritia, aliisque subsidiis necessariis instructiores, quia dies diem docet, qui sensus eruerint summo viro ignotos. Verum non tantum ejus ævo nemo hac in re fuit ei æquiparandus, sed ad maximam partem Novi Testamenti quod attinet, nemo ne nunc quidem, felicius sensum ejus expedivit.

Fuit hujus operis editio quædam Hanoveræ anno 1668. procurata in *quarto*, sed adeo turpis et vitiosa, ut non modo singulæ voces passim essent fœde corruptæ, sed et integri versus omitti; quæ menda diligentissime hic emendata sunt. Accepi etiam a fide dignis, cum primum prodiret ea editio, nemini eam obtrudi potuisse; quamobrem bibliopola aliquamdiu postea titulum recudi curavit, quasi esset alia editio; quæ fraus primum ci male cessit, sed paucis post annis iterum tentata, nescio quo errore hominum, effecit ut in Anglia, millia aliquot exemplarium vitiosissimæ editionis vendita fuerint. Utantur vero potius hac studiosi; quæ et castigatior et elegantior multo est.

Quam ut exornaret bibliopola, curavit commata ad marginem diligenter numeris notari, ut lectoribus interpretationes Erasmi quærentibus laborem minueret. Imo vero et textum integrum Vulgatæ versionis in margine a capite octavo Matthæi exprimi curavit, ut lectores cum eo possent Erasmi Paraphrases facilius conferre; nam principium tantum versuum in prioribus editionibus erat, quo factum est ut hujus rei ab initio in mentem non venerit. Editio etiam Frobeniana anni 1540. est cum duabus aliis editionibus recentioribus collata a viro erudito, qui correctioni præfuit, et qui varias nonnullas lectiones, si quæ essent memoratu dignæ, sub ima paginarum ora addidit. Idem quoque singulis capitibus disticha dudum edita, quæ complectuntur quod iis continetur, præfixit. Si minus boni sint versus, mirum sane non erit, cum tam paucis verbis non possit



commode copiosum argumentum coërceri. Interea alicui usui esse queunt quærentibus quidpiam, nec interdum satis accurate tenentibus quonam capite inveniatur; monent enim uno verbo lectorem. Hæc erant quæ te, benigne lector, non ignorare volebat bibliopola. Vale.

<sup>d</sup> *A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Matthew to Charles V. A. 1522.*

He closes his dedication with an excellent admonition to this young emperor :

Det tibi, Cæsar augustissime, cœlestis ille princeps ea velle conarique, quæ sunt optima, atque idem tuos conatus bene fortunet, ut amplissimum imperium, quod citra sanguinis humani jacturam hactenus contigit, possis itidem vel propagare, vel tueri. Illud interim semper meminerit tua clementia, nullum bellum, neque tam justis de causis suscipi, neque tam moderate geri, quod non ingens et scelerum et calamitatum agmen secum trahat : tum maximam malorum partem ad innoxios et indignos recidere.

*Pio lectori.*

In this preface he exhorts the laity and the common people to read and study the Scriptures, which ought, as he says, to lie open to all well-disposed people, and to be translated into all modern languages.

C. 147.

The Paraphrase of St. Matthew is closed with an epistle *Matthæo cardinali Sedunensi*, A. 1521.

C. 150.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Mark to Francis I. A. 1533.*

In this dedication, as in that of St. Matthew, he exhorts Christian princes to peace and pacific dispositions. It is a bold, free, and most excellent dissertation.

He observes with pleasure what a demand there was for

<sup>d</sup> See Burigni, tom. i. p. 463.

the New Testament, and how many thousand copies were sold every year.

He concludes his dedication with a noble spirit :

Hæc affectu puro scribo, Francisce rex Christianissime, neque perstringens quenquam, quum omnibus bene velim : neque blandiens cuiquam, quum a nullo quicquam ambiam.

“Thomas Key translated into English The Paraphrase of St. Mark, by Erasmus, being desired to do it by queen Catharine Parre.” Wood, vol. i. c. 174.

C. 271.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Luke to Henry VIII.*  
A. 1523.

He tells the king, that Charles V. and Ferdinand, and Christiern of Denmark, and queen Catharine, were readers of the Holy Scriptures.

He draws an argument for the truth of Christianity from its successful propagation, and its salutary effects.

Udal translated into English this Paraphrase of St. Luke. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 406. ii. 28.

C. 490.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. John to Ferdinand, Brother of Charles V.* A. 1523.

He gives Ferdinand a great character, and with much sincerity, for he highly esteemed and loved this young prince ; and he exhorts him to persevere in his good dispositions, and offers him excellent advice.

C. 645.

Joan. XX. 28. Thomas ubi vidisset et contrectasset, &c.

But it appears not, from the words of St. John, that Thomas accepted the offer made to him by our Lord, and handled his body. It seems most probable that he did not.

C. 650.

At the end of this Paraphrase there is an epistle to the reader, recommending to him piety, and dissuading him from superstition.

Franc. Mallet translated into English this Paraphrase of St. John. Wood, vol. i. c. 688.

## C. 651.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of the Acts of the Apostles to Clemens VII. A. 1524.*

## C. 654.

*Peregrinatio Petri et Pauli, cum ratione temporum.*

## C. 714.

## Act. XII. 1.

In this chapter Erasmus confounds Herod Agrippa with Herod the Tetrarch.

## C. 716.

## Act. XII. 19.

Herod commanded the keepers ἀπαρχθῆναι, *to be put to death.*

Erasmus in his N. T. doubts whether they were put to death, or only sent to prison. In his Paraphrase he affirms that they were only imprisoned, and that they escaped Herod's rage. Learned men are of the contrary opinion.

## C. 728.

## Acts XV. 20.

He judges very well that the precepts of abstaining from things strangled and from blood, were temporary, and given in compliance with the scrupulous Jews. To think otherwise, is to judge amiss of the spirit and genius of the Gospel.

## C. 744.

## Acts XIX. 35.

Cum Scriba—silentium impetrasset—dixit *Alexander* : Viri, &c.

The word *Alexander* should be struck out ; for it was not Alexander, but the town-clerk, who spake to the people.

## C. 771.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Dominico cardinali Grimano, Veneto, titulo Sancti Marci, A. 1517.*

He justly observes how difficult it was to paraphrase such a writer as St. Paul, and such an epistle as that to the Romans.

Non hic attollam verbis, quanti mihi constiterit hoc quicquid est opusculi, quod id sciam nemini proclive vel æstimare vel credere, nisi qui ipse periculum in simili negotio fecerit, quid sit hiantia committere, abrupta mollire, confusa digerere, involuta evolvere, nodosa explicare, obscuris lucem addere, Hebraismum Romana civitate donare, &c.

He proceeds to describe the happy state of Rome Christian, under Leo, in expressions which have more politeness than truth; and he concludes with compliments to Grimani, which seem to be better founded, and which that courteous cardinal might perhaps deserve well enough.

C. 820.

Of the forms of civil governments, and of civil laws, he says :

Has Christus ut non sanxit, ita nec reprobavit, sed velut ignoravit, nimirum aliud agens.

C. 850.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians.* Clariss. principi, et eidem reverendiss. præsuli Leodiensi, D. Erardo De Marca, nunc cardinali, A. 1519.

After giving a great character to this prince, he recommends these epistles of St. Paul to him; he wishes that the apostle had treated more copiously of some important subjects, as of the eucharist, and the intermediate state of the righteous and the wicked; he speaks of excommunication as of a discipline which was horribly abused, and inflicted most severely where the *pence* were concerned, *cum de pecuniola periclitatur*; he censures indulgences, and dislikes the ecclesiastical decrees concerning fasting and abstinence; he throws out many hints about the corrupted state of the church, and the scandalous vices of the clergy; and he concludes with a pretty character of St. Paul.

It is an excellent epistle, but a very free one, which could not fail to give offence to dishonest and worldly-minded people.

## C. 867.

*Ego sum Pauli : ego Apollo, &c.* 1 Cor. III. 4.

—Quis ferat, si adscitis hominum qualiumcunque, fortasse pseudapostolorum, cognominibus, salutis ac religionis auctoritatem uni Christo debitam, homunculis tribuatis? Veluti si Frangilius quispiam, aut Benotius, aut Augulius, aut Carmilius, aut alius quocunque nomine (nam sint hæc exempli gratia dicta) commentus sit aliquod humanum vitæ institutum, an protinus horum cognomentis elati, fœdum certamen inter vos suscipietis, et obliterato Christi nomine, veræ religionis, cujus unicus auctor est Christus, facietis homines auctores?

This is levelled against the Franciscans, Benedictins, and Augustinians; and perhaps against the Carthusians and Carmelites, though these do not take their denomination from their founders. His paraphrase of this and the next chapter must have greatly provoked the bigots and the hypocrites.

## C. 943.

*The Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.*

## C. 967.

*The Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians.*

Dedicated to cardinal Campegius, A. 1519.

Of this dedication we have given an account in the Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 198.

## C. 1031.

*A Dedication of the Paraphrase of St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon.* Præsuli et principi Trajectensi, Philippo a Burgundia, A. 1519.

He speaks of the difficulties and duties of the episcopal function.

## C. 1079.

*The Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. Peter, and of St. Jude.*

Dedicated to cardinal Wolsey.

He compliments the cardinal, and makes some critical remarks upon these three epistles. He informs him that he hath no favours to beg for himself, besides the cardinal's countenance and approbation.

## C. 1114.

*The Paraphrase of the Epistles of St. James and St. John, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews.* Matthæo cardinali Sedunensi, A. 1520.

He declares his opinion that the epistle to the Hebrews was not written by St. Paul. He commends this cardinal, who had exhorted him to undertake the paraphrase of the above-mentioned epistles; and he makes some complaints of his malicious enemies.

## TOMUS VII.

## VERSA E PATRIBUS GRÆCIS.

## PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

NIHIL est cur te, lector, multis moremur, initio hujus octavi voluminis Operum Des. Erasmi. Maxima quidem sui parte egregium diligentiae ejus et laborum indefessorum, ne de eruditione loquar, monumentum complectitur; cum libros Chrysostomi, Athanasii, Origenis, et Basilii, ex Græca lingua in Latinam translatos, contineat; verum hæc aliena sunt, nec quidquam Erasmo debent, præter Latinam togam. Possent æque commode quæri in editionibus antiquioribus eorum patrum Græco-Latinis, in quas ex hoc volumine merito sunt ab editoribus desumptæ; sed cum facerent lucubrationum ejus octavam partem, nec in quibusvis editionibus occurrant, religioni duximus vel eorum apicem ullum omittere. Imo operam dedimus, ut quæcumque oportebat Italico caractere, ut typhothetæ loquuntur, legi, qualia sunt Scripturæ Sacræ loca, eo describerentur; utque etiam, quatenus licuit, oratio in certa capita divideretur, inchoato, ubi oportuit, novo versu, cum una serie antea essent edita. Cætera etiam, pro more hodierno cultioris

typographiæ, sunt decentius et elegantius disposita. Digna sane erat hæc quoque pars laborum magni viri, quæ hic conservaretur; vel hac de causa, quod in editionibus SS. patrum, quæ in dies novæ prodeunt, aliæ aut interpolatæ inveniuntur translationes; quibus minime cedunt hæ Erasmianæ, quas non adolescens, ut alia multa è Græco versa, sed senex demum elaboravit. Possunt enim et de vera lectione loci cujuspiam Opusculorum illorum Chrysostomi, Athanasii, Origenis et Basilii, aut vera etiam sententia, controversiæ inter eruditos interdum oriri, quæ Erasmi auctoritate optime componantur.

Cæterum cum hoc volumen aliorum molem non æquaret, commodum in manus bibliopolæ incidit MS. codex, qui fuerat Petri Opmeri, Amstelodamensis, qui sub finem decimi quinti sæculi obiit. In eo, inter varia opuscula Erasmi, erant duæ ejus orationes, numquam antea editæ, quarum altera est *De Pace et Discordia contra factiosos, ad Cornelium Goudanum*; altera oratio funebris *in funere Bertæ de Heyen Goudanæ viduæ, ad filias ejus superstites, Moniales in eodem oppido*. Hæ quidem orationes ab adolescentulo Erasmo scriptæ sunt, sed tanta in illis elucet vis ingenii, tanta rerum et sententiarum ubertas, et tam acutum judicium, pro illa ætate, ut non sint indignæ, quæ cum senilibus ejus operibus legantur. Itaque huic volumini, cum nullus, cæteris jam editis, commodior locus superesset, merito subjunctæ sunt. Ex eodem volumine MS. Opmeri editus fuit *Conflictus Thaliæ et Barbariei*, quem invenies ad calcem Colloquiorum, tom: i. c. 889.

Idem dixeris de Carminibus ineditis, quæ inventa sunt in MS. codice, qui fuit Petri Scriverii, viri doctissimi, et ejusmodi deliciarum olim amantissimi, ac curiosissimi indagatoris. Quamvis sint carmina pueri, aut adolescentuli, grata erunt omnibus Erasmiani ingenii amantibus; qui, si de aliis ex me judicare licet, libentissime primos illos fœcundissimi, ut sic dicam, agri flores olfaciendos lectione decerpent, etiam postquam fructibus maturis et plenis sese satiaverint. Hinc colligere etiam licet, quantus poëta futurus fuisset Erasmus, si poëticam colere voluisset, quemadmodum reliquas philologiæ et theologiæ partes coluit.

Sequuntur deinde Francisci Robertelli Annotationes in

Apophthegmata ab Erasmo versa e Laërtio, ubi Diogenis Cynici vitam describit. Eæ olim fuerant editæ Venetiis, anno 1548. cumque ejusmodi libelli rariores fiant in dies, non fuerant ad manum, cum ederetur tomus quartus, in quo ea leguntur apophthegmata. Alioqui potuissent commodius ei subijci; quamquam maligne et multis in rebus perperam Erasmus reprehendit Robortellus, ut jamdudum ostendere viri doctissimi Paulus Leopardus, in Emendationibus, et præsertim Petrus Nannius, Miscellaniorum lib. viii. Quis ferat Erasmus reprehendi quod verterit *δημαγωγός*, *oratores*, quæ enim vox Latine aptior, ad convertendam Græcam? Non verius est quod confundit *δημαγωγός* cum *χορηγός*, et quod duo apophthegmata in unum vult compingi. Sed nihil opus est talia confutari, cum jam a Nannio elisa sint; quamvis non diffitear aliquando lapsum esse Erasmus, quod et vidit Leopardus, nec ipse dissimulavi in infima ora tomi iv. hujus editionis. Sed tantus vir fuit Erasmus, tamque egregia opera suo tempore, edidit, ut dignissimus sit cui talia ignoscamus, nec commemorando exaggeremus, ne imperitis contemnendi meliora et laude digna ansam præbeamus. Verum sat nota est acerbitas intoleranda Robortelli, vel ex concertatione, quæ ei fuit cum Carolo Sigonio, multo doctiore viro, et cum aliis doctis hominibus illius ævi, quos omni genere conviciorum proscidit; ut docebit Joannes Imperialis, in Museo Historico. Non est ergo timendum ne laudibus Erasmi nunc officiat Robortellus, quibus, ne ætate quidem sua, nebulas objicere potuit. Itaque id faciet in hoc volumine, quod umbræ in pictura, cujus splendorem et elegantiam augent.

Si quid contra Erasmus hic additum est, Apologia Joannis Heroldi contra dialogum famosum in funus Erasmi, quicquid id est, abunde pensabit. Certe acrem et vehementem summi viri patronum apud Basileenses egit, paucis post ejus mortem annis; opusculumque ejus, ne prorsus intercideret, Erasmi honoris causa, hic est a bibliopola adjectum.

*Versa ex Chrysostomo.*

Dedicated to John III. king of Portugal. A. 1527.



In this dedication he bestows great praises upon Chrysostom.

*Chrysostomus De Orando Deum.*

Dedicated to Maximilian à Burgundia, abbot of Mittelburg.

*Chrysostomus de David et Saule.*

Dedicated to John Paungartner, A. 1533.

*Chrysostomi Enarratio in Epistolam ad Galatas.*

Dedicated to the cardinal of Lorraine, A. 1527.

*Versa ex Athanasio.*

Dedicated to John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, A. 1527.

*Origenis Vita, &c.*

All that is here concerning the life, doctrine, and works of Origen, from c. 425. to c. 430. is also printed in the volume of the Epistles, Ep. 457. c. 1846. Then follows:

*Censura de Homiliis in Genesim, Leviticum, &c. De his quæ desiderantur. De ratione dæcendi et phrasi Origenis: Origenis Comment. in Matthæum.*

The last piece is a fragment.

*Basilii Expositio in Isaiam.*

Dedicated to bishop Fisher, A. 1510.

*Basilii de Spiritu Sancto.*

Dedicated to Joannes Dantiscus, bishop of Culm, A. 1532.

In this dedication he declares his own orthodoxy, and aversion from the Arians and Unitarians, who, as he complains, began to rise up again in the Christian world. He gives his opinion that this piece of Basil was interpolated by some mean writer.

*Basilii de Laudibus Jejuni.*

*Des. Erasmus Rot. Joanni Cholero, Præposito Curiensi.*

Ne semper accipias a nobis epistolas steriles atque ἀδωρές, mittimus duas homilias de laudibus jejuni, quod nunc magna ex parte sublatum e vita Christianorum et vi-

demus et dolemus. Dices has ante fuisse versas: fateor, nimirum a Raphaele Volaterrano. Sed ob id ipsum hoc operæ sumsi, quo declararem, quantum sit periculum quorumlibet versioni fidere, quantoque rectius sit ex ipsis haurire fontibus. Demiraberis ipse sat scio, si utriusque nostrum translationem cum Græcis contuleris. Nam id ut cuivis in promptu sit, provisum est edito Græce Basilio. Posterior homilia mihi non videtur Basili, sed studiosi cuiuspiam sese ad prioris æmulationem exercentis. Equidem non pugnabo, si quis diversum sentiat, arbitror tamen eruditos, si propius admoverint oculos, meæ sententiæ subscripturos. Probo genus exercitationis, at eorum fucos non probo, qui nota<sup>c</sup> ac degenerantia summorum virorum titulis obtrudunt orbi. Imposturam hanc et in Athanasii, et in eloquentissimi cujusque scriptis deprehendimus. Ab hac audacia saltem Basili magni divinitas debuit absterrere. Quanquam in hoc auctore parcius est peccatum. Adjectimus et Hieronem Xenophonticum, cui admovimus *δευτέρως Φρονίδας*. Bene vale. A. 1532.

“ Erasmus suspected the Commentary of Basil on Isaiah to be spurious: his suspicions are rejected as groundless by Cave, Tillemont, &c. He suspected that the book of this father on the Holy Ghost was interpolated; but is refuted by Casaubon, and forsaken by the ablest critics. He also judged that the second homily of Basil on Fasting was not genuine; but is refuted by Tillemont. The abbé Billi hath censured many inaccuracies in his version.

Erasmus also condemned some tracts ascribed to Chrysostom as spurious, which the learned have since pronounced to be genuine. M. Simon, never much disposed to do justice to Erasmus, says that his edition of Chrysostom was unworthy of a man who had acquired so much reputation.” Burigni, tom. ii. p. 350.

### *Oratio Erasmi de Pace et Discordia.*

Addressed to Cornelius Goudanus; and made when he was twenty years old. It is a juvenile performance, as the matter and the manner sufficiently show.

<sup>c</sup> Read *notha*.

*Oratio Funeris in Funere Bertæ De Heyen, &c.*

Composed in his twenty-first year, in honour of a lady, who seems to have been a person of virtue and piety, and a singular friend to Erasmus.

Then follow two epitaphs in verse.

*Carmina varia.*

These poems were all composed in his younger days, and are pretty enough for a boy. There are in them several faults, either of the author, or of the transcriber, or of the press; and they are, to say the plain truth, most scandalously published in this edition of Leyden. No care at all was taken to revise them, and to mark any of the errors. I could easily correct them in several places, but shall only give the reader a small specimen.

*Floræ tempore suo jam delectat roseum ver,*

Read:

*Flora tepore suo.*

*Et tu, Phæbe mater, perpetuum vale.*

Read, *pater.*

In the Ode to the Virgin Mary:

*Qui cavis tentat trabibus minaces*

*Adire fluctus, rabidasque Syrtes.*

Read, *Adriæ.*

In the Poem on Christ:

*Quid tibi, Christe, in ore est? quid te, Regum optime, tardat?*

Read, *moræ.*

*Robortelli Annotationes in Erasmus, &c.*

Then follows:

*Heroldi Declamatio pro Erasmo.*

Some anonymous libeller had attacked the reputation of Erasmus four years after his death; to which this is a reply, composed in the year 1541, by Heroldus, a young protestant.

This *Anonymus*, or *Pseudonymus*, who calls himself *Philaethes Utopiensis*, is said to have been an Italian physician, one Hortensio Lando. Bayle, *Lando*.

Heroldus here says that Erasmus was born A. 1567, as we have fixed it.

## TOMUS IX. et X.

### PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CLERICI.

Post longas moras, quas ægre quidem tulerunt Erasmianorum Operum amantes, sed quæ etiam Bibliopolæ ipsi invito, dum indices exspectat, tædium et detrimentum creaverunt non exiguum, prodit tandem ultimum volumen Operum Erasmi. Nullam ipse partem lucubrationum suarum, majore cum fastidio, conscripsit; quia homo, ut ex cæteris ejus scriptis satis liquet, paci et concordiæ natus, coactus est, per multos annos, bellum ferme internecinum a non uno adversariorum genere sibi illatum propulsare. Hoc enim in laudem Erasmi nostri merito possimus dicere, neminem mortalium, nominatim certe, ab eo priorem lacessitum fuisse. In vitia quidem nonnullorum ordinum, et ea quæ optimi quique ejus ævo in republica Christiana emendata voluissent, oratione invecus est; sed nominibus diligenter, nisi provocatus scriptis jam editis, pepercit.

Colloquia, quæ avidissime ejus ætate lecta sunt, et hac nostra etiamnum summa cum voluptate leguntur, sale quidem adperserunt nonnullos eorum qui minutas quasdam cæremonias, aliaque ejusmodi inania commenta, pro religione venditabant; sed neminem nomine appellavit. Attamen ex hoc volumine liquebit pro innoxius illis Colloquiis, imo vero utilissimis omnium Dialogorum, Apologias optimo viro scribendas fuisse. Versione, Adnotationibus et Paraphrasibus in Novum Testamentum nemini nocere, omnibus prodesse conatus est, estque in iis, cur ei posteritas omnis gratias habeat; quas doctissimi quique viri in scriptis suis ei dudum egerunt, et porro agent, dum aliquis honor erit Sacris Literis et bonæ menti. At hoc volumen, me tacente, satis ostendit quot in se crabrones, utilissimis operibus, concitarit. Fateor homines iniquos et importunos satis acriter tandem ab eo fuisse repulsos, et sub finem vitæ, cum lædi famam suam videret ab iis, de quibus bene meritum se esse putabat, aliquando paulo commotiorem fuisse, et ea scrip-

sisse quæ alioqui nunquam emisisset homo mitis ingenii et quietis amantissimus. Sed quis non ignoscat seni assiduis laboribus in usum reipublicæ literariæ exantlatis, defatigato et cum infirma valetudine perpetuo luctanti, nec eo secius de omnibus bene mereri pergenti; si dicteris et scommatibus malignorum et iniquorum adversariorum aliquanto acrius reposuerit? Quis indignetur viro, qui ferventibus acerrimis contentionibus, ac præliis ferme quotidianis, cum ab iis abhorreret, seque ex acie subducere ab utrisque vulneratus conaretur, indignationem nonnullam in eos testatus est, qui inter tela versari invitum volebant? Quod si in quibusdam modum non satis servarit, hoc quoque humanæ imbecillitati tribuamus et ignoscamus; cum omnes, in multis, aliorum indulgentia indigeamus. Quamvis autem, in hisce Apologiis, commotior subinde videatur, quam in aliis operibus, attamen quisquis eas leget paulo studiosius, inveniet passim ἑρᾶσμιον, hoc est, amabile illud ingenium, jocosum et amœnum, quodque ridere, quam ringi, multo mallet, et adversarios jocando potius quam mordendo, ad saniolem mentem, æquiusque de se sentiendum reducere conaretur.

Strinxit, fateor, calamum in Catholicos et Romanæ sedi addictos scriptores; strinxit et in eos, qui ab ea secessionem fecerant, sed ab utrisque, ut dixi, lacessitus; et ita in iis concertationibus sese gessit, ut nihil præter necessaria ad famam suam tuendam proferre sibi videretur, nec studio partium transversum agi, ut putabat, se pateretur. Certe quodcumque desingulis ejus scriptis feratur a nobis iudicium, ita personam, quam sibi impositam esse a magno rerum humanarum chorago existimabat, sustinuit: ut partes quæ tum contendebant, nec nunc studiis minoribus certant, hominem quantumvis utrimque laceratum ad se trahere conentur; quod ex multis utrarumque partium scriptis ostendere facile possemus. Vituperamus, carpinus, erroris, dissimulationis, aut timiditatis doctissimum virum arguimus; nec eo secius nostrum esse volumus. Cum scribit in eos, quos Judaismum revocare voluisse ait, tum alii aperte sibi hominem favere dicunt. Cum vero invehitur in eos, qui secessionem fecerunt, clamitant continuo adversarii suum esse. Utrique faventi plaudunt, dissentienti indignantur.

An igitur, inquires, neutris partibus addictus fuit? Imo vero utrisque, dum et hos et illos ad mitiora et æquiora judicia, consiliaque revocare nititur, et pacem non iniquam, gratiamque reconciliare conatur. Non diffiteor irritos fuisse ejus, hac in re, labores, nec cum illo multos postea sensisse; sed si boni animi omnes ei gratiam habeamus, condonemusque cæteris viri meritis, si quid minus in ejus libris placeat, æquum de eo judicium feremus, quod nulla ætas possit nobis exprobrare, optimi vero et doctissimi viri semper sint laudaturi.

De hac hujus voluminis editione, paucis agendum nobis superest. Itaque præterquam quod quæ antehac excusa erant emendatiora multo nunc et elegantioribus typis expressa reponuntur, quemadmodum cætera omnia; huic editioni accessere, I. Apologia Martini Lydii pro Erasmo, opposita eorum calumniis, qui eum Arianismi accusabant, &c. II. Index Expurgatorius in Opera Erasmi, ut Catholici qui nolunt ea legere, quæ a congregatione examini librorum Romæ aut Madriti præfecta damnantur, prætermittere, si ita videatur, ea possint. Notatæ sunt paginæ editionis Basileensis, una cum hujusce paginis, ut qui habent vetera exemplaria in quibus loca censurâ notata detracta sunt, aut atramento deleta, qualia multa occurrunt, videre hinc facile queant quid in suis exemplaribus desit, si modo ea legendi potestatem eis fecerint ii, quibus eam negare aut concedere jus est adtributum. Ne quis autem putet propterea bonis omnibus, in ecclesia Romana, invisum post fata Erasmum fuisse, obstant cum testimonia primo ejus Operum volumini prefixa, tum etiam, quæ hic III. loco occurret, oratio funebris in ejus obitum conscripta a Gulielmo Insulano, Juliacepsi, qui Aquisgrani Præpositus Canonicorum S. Aldaberti fuit. Subjuncta est etiam epistola Erasmi, quam bibliopola serius accepit, nec tamen omittendam esse merito credidit. IV. Index generalis omnium Operum Erasmi, excepto Epistolarum volumine, cui peculiare sui Indices sunt adjecti, iique denuo magna diligentia confecti.

Cum autem nonum volumen Operum Erasmi jam satis crassum esset, et omnium quidem crassissimum, ita aucta est ejus moles, additionibus memoratis et Indice Universali, ut satius duxerimus, ordine Erasmi, ad lucubrationes quod

attinet, servato, id in duo volumina partiri; quæ ratio est cur pro IX. voluminibus Frobenianis, nunc X. in hac editione habeantur. Quod monendum existimavimus, ne quid mutatum in ordine ab Erasmo ipso constituto quispiam forte morosior crimineretur. Quin et XI. volumina ex hisce nostris possunt conflari, quia volumen III. quo epistolæ continentur, additionibus nostris, imaginibusque clarorum virorum æri incisus, insertisque ita auctum est, ut crassius pæne sit, quam ut uno integumento vestiri possit; quamobrem id in priorem et posteriorem partem, titulis duobus editis, distinximus.

Si hæc nonnihil operum Erasmi pretium augeant, at usum multo commodiorem, faciliorem, et fructuosiorem reddent. Pauci enim sunt, quibus vacat quæ digna sunt, in hujusmodi libris, quæ memoriæ mandentur adnotare, aut in adversaria referre; plerique satis habent recordari apud quem scriptorum<sup>f</sup> ea legerint, nec tamen loci ita meminerunt, ut invenire facile possint, præsertim in tot voluminibus. Ideo bibliopola nullis pepercit sumtibus, ut copiosos Erasmo Indices adderet; estque profecto cur propterea ab hominibus literarum amantibus gratiam sibi haberi ac referri suo jure expectet. Quam testatam ii demum facient qui hæc Erasmi opera sibi comparabunt, quibus, me judice, nulla paullo locupletior bibliotheca, nemo paullo elegantioris ingenii vir potest carere.

*Epistola Apologetica ad Dorpium.*

Written A. 1515.

This epistle<sup>g</sup> is drawn up with the utmost mildness and moderation. He gives an account how he came to write the *Encomium Moriaë*, and defends it against the censures of Dorpius. He speaks of his own labours upon Jerom and the New Testament, and of the ignorance and malice of his enemies, and he recommends to Dorpius the study of the Greek tongue. It is impossible to read this letter without being charmed with his wit and his good-nature.

*Apologia ad Jac. Fabrum Stapulensem.*

Written A. 1517.

Erasmus<sup>h</sup>, in his notes on the New Testament, had taken

<sup>f</sup> Read *scriptorem*. <sup>g</sup> Life of Erasmi. vol. i. p. 67. <sup>h</sup> Ibid. p. 88.

civil notice of some errors of Faber, and had differed from him in some places; which provoked Faber to fall upon Erasmus. This apology is written with smartness, but with respect, some few places excepted, where the bad Latin and the bad logic of Faber, together with his unfriendly misrepresentations and cavils, excited the disdain and resentment of Erasmus. See a long note of Erasmus on Hebr. ii. 7. where he also defends himself against Faber. He makes good remarks on the ambiguous authority of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Faber had taken occasion to insult the grammarians; for which Erasmus ridicules him as he deserved.

*Annotatio Erasmi, quam Faber oppugnat. And:*

*Fabri Disputatio adversus hanc Annotationem.*

Then follows:

*Apologia in Dialogum Jac. Latomi. L. I. et II.*

Written A. 1519. against two silly dialogues, in which Erasmus and his theological works had been obliquely censured.

*Apologia pro Declamatione Matrimonii.*

Addressed to the students of Louvain, A. 1519.

A declamation of his, *Dé Laude Matrimonii*, had been obliquely censured in a public speech by Joannes Atensis, rector of that university, to which Erasmus opposeth this vindication. The declamation is to be found in his treatise *De Conscribendis Epistolis*, in tom. i. c. 414.

*Apologia pro In Principio erat Sermo.*

A defence against those who charged him with impiety, for translating *Λόγος Sermo*, and not *Verbum*; and particularly against Standish.

*Responsio ad Notationes Lei.*

Lee's objections<sup>1</sup> to Erasmus are for the most part disingenuous misrepresentations and poor chicaneries.

It appears that Lee had suffered Erasmus to see some of his manuscript remarks, and that Erasmus had written some

<sup>1</sup> Life of Erasm. vol. i. p. 90.



hasty notes upon them here and there, and returned them; and that Lee took advantage of this, and wrote against those notes, which Erasmus had never intended for publication.

Lee's treatise against Erasmus, as to the style and Latinity, is not amiss. But Erasmus observes, and it is probable enough, that the book was written by Lee and Company; and that he had several assistants in the undertaking.

## C. 131.

Lee observed that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that our Greek copy was not a good translation. Thus, whilst he accused Erasmus of heresy, he himself was oversetting the authority and credit of St. Matthew's Gospel!

Erasmus thinks that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek; which seems to me to be by far the more probable opinion.

## C. 131.

Erasmus commends the skill of Oecolampadius, in the Hebrew language, by whom he had been assisted in a few places.

## C. 169. and 183.

Lee had accused Erasmus of heterodoxy and Arianism, for having represented the Father as the *Principium*, the *First Cause* of all. Erasmus defends himself well; and, in return, represents Lee's doctrine concerning the Trinity as heretical: And so indeed it was. To ascribe *self-existence* to the *Son* of God, would have been called heresy by the antient fathers. I should choose rather to call it, a *contradiction in terms*.

## C. 214. and 225.

Lee taxes Erasmus with denying original sin, only because he advised men not to establish that doctrine upon passages of Scripture which proved nothing at all. In the same manner, and for the same reason, he charges him with denying that marriage is a sacrament.

## C. 255.

Erasmus had said that auricular confession was not instituted by our Saviour and his apostles: but he allowed that

the church had a power to appoint it; for he always professed to entertain high notions of the authority of the church. Lee attacked Erasmus with a variety of arguments, all of them good for nothing; so that Erasmus found it an easy matter to expose him; and makes both here and elsewhere many excellent remarks concerning the scandalous abuse of auricular confession.

C. 262.

Here Erasmus defends what he had said concerning divorce, on the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

C. 270 and 273.

Lee accused Erasmus of favouring Arianism (as in other places, of favouring Pelagianism) because he rejected and gave up inconclusive texts of Scripture, which injudicious disputants had often urged against those systems. *Denique*, says Lee, *si verum esset, tamen erat dissimulandum*. What scandalous doctrine is this!

C. 271.

Here again Lee accuseth him of favouring Arianism, because he thought that the Christians of the fourth century had done better if they had dropped the unscriptural word *ἁμοούσιος*. Erasmus gives him an answer, which deserves to be transcribed:

Hic arrodit Leus quod adjeceram in Annotatione: *Ex hoc verbo, videlicet hypostaseos, nata est magna digladiatio, quod Ariani oxigerent tres hypostases, et verbum homusii non reciperent. Res indigna, meo sane judicio, ob quam Oriens et Occidens exitiabili bello inter se conflictarentur, et orbis concordia turpiter scinderetur. Hoc loco mihi videtur Leus, velut argumentum nactus declamatorium, exercere voluisse dicendi copiam ac vim. Sed id ita facit, ut ad me non magnopere pertineant quæ disserit. Nam ipse de vocabulis loquor, quæ novitate sua præbuerunt dissidii materiam: id Leus ad rem trahit. Nostri tres personas agnoscebant, tres hypostases non item. Ariani cum hypostaseos verbum libenter amplecterentur, abhorrebant ab homusii vocabulo, et quemadmodum Hieronymus suspicabatur subesse nescio quid veneni in syllabis, cum ab eo exi-*

geretur trium *hypostaseon* confessio, ita Ariani suspicabantur nescio quid veneni latere in vocabulo *homusii* : vocem esse inauditam, nusquam legi in divinis libris, et ideo suspectam. Jam cum nullus unquam exstiterit in ecclesia tumultus hoc gravior aut latius patens, an non magis expedisset, omissis utrinque novis vocabulis, tueri publicam orbis concordiam, quam rei Christianæ summam in extremum discrimen adducere? præsertim cum in hujusmodi dissidiis fere sese misceat affectus humanus, et utraque pars opinionis suæ studio, et adversariorum odio iniquius interpretetur quod ab adversariis adfertur, et suis impendio faveat. Possem hujus generis plura commemorare exempla, sed in re odiosa satius est ab exemplis temperare. Jam quod mihi videtur magis expediens futurum fuisse, id visum est et illius temporis gravissimis episcopis, ac principibus, qui frequentissima synodo semel atque iterum censuerunt abolendam verborum contentionem, modo de re fidei conveniret. Neque quisquam admodum refragatus est de abolendo nomine *homusii*, imo probabile videbatur omnibus, ut vocabulum, quod cum in Sacris Literis nusquam reperiretur, tamen novitate sua multis esset scandalo, de medio tolleretur. Et jam coierat concordia, sed *male sarta gratia nequicquam coit, et rescinditur*, ut inquit Flaccus. Si quis diffidet nostræ narrationi, legat Hieronymi Dialogum, quem scripsit adversus Luciferianos. Jam sunt quædam hujusmodi, ut non sit necesse magno ecclesiæ tumultu persequi. Dissidebatur olim de celebrando Pascha, ac gravibus episcopis ea res non est visa satis idonea ob quam Christianorum communio scinderetur. Ejusdem generis putavit Cyprianus, quod quidam ab hæreticis baptizatos denuo baptizabant, quidam secus. Mihi videntur ea potissimum inculcanda, quæ faciunt ad vitæ pietatem. Cæterum immodice philosophari in subtilitatibus illis, quæ plus habent ostentationis quam fructus, non admodum probarim, præsertim si id fiat gravi Christianæ reipublicæ tumultu, cujus concordix usque adeo consulendum est, ut Paulus sæpenumero parcat pseudapostolis, ne irritati gravius etiam turbarent pacem Christianorum. Si Ariani voluissent confiteri sicut confitebantur, *Filium esse Deum de Deo genitum, similem Patri, ejusdem cum illo nature*, quod nec ipsum, ni fallor, negabant, et

omissis *hypostaseon* vocabulis, nobiscum amplexi fuissent *tres personas*, nonne præstabat duorum verborum jacturam facere, quam admittere dissidium tam exitiabile? An doceri non poterat æqualitas personarum, nisi repertum fuisset novum *homusii* vocabulum? At hoc non recipiebant Ariani. Non patrocino in præsentia Arianis, qui toto pectore sequor quod definivit ecclesia, sed illud quæro, an commoda interpretatione potuerit teneri concordia. Dicebant Filium subditum Patri. Certe natura Filius obtemperat Patri, a quo vitam habet. Forte fieri potest ut qui subsit, non ideo tamen minus habeat dignitatis. Dicebant Filium esse creaturam: quid si hoc sentiebant, gigni ab alio et esse ab alio, quodammodo condi esse? Dicebant forte Spiritum Sanctum utrisque ministrum esse: quid si hoc sentiebant, per eum et Patrem et Filium operari? Jam cum Hilarius fateatur Patrem esse Filio majorem auctoritate, sed ita ut Filius minor non sit, cum hoc habeat a Patre ut illi sit æqualis: quæso, si verum fateri fas est, quantulum abest ab Ariani? Si Pater major est Filio auctoritate originis, igitur juxta divinæ naturæ rationem major est. Sed hoc quo major est, non communicat Filio, videtur enim Filius ea parte minor. Etenim si Hilarius sensisset Patrem Filio majorem quatenus est homo, non oportuit refugere Filium hac ratione dici minorem. Porro secundum eandem rationem aliquem dici majorem altero, cum ille minor non sit, nihilo videtur probabilius quam si quis dicat, Petrum esse patrem Joannis, cum Joannes non sit illius filius. Æquum est, ut in iis, quæ nobis ab apostolis ac patribus, qui ab illis hauserunt, tradita sunt, consentiamus omnes. Cæterum nihil non pertrahere ad fidei negotium, seminarium est dissidiorum, ac pestis Christianæ concordiæ, qua sublata Christiani non sumus: cum tamen possit esse obnoxius hæretico errori, qui Christo carus sit, si modo simpliciter erret inculcata ignorantia. Expulsus est Arius ob unam aut alteram voculam. Athanasii Symbolum quotidie canitur in templis: et tamen negat Catholice dici, quæ nunc theologi fatentur dici recte. Negat ille dici tres æternos, tres omnipotentes, tres increatos, tres immensos, nec putat hunc sermonem minus impium esse, quam si quis dicat tres Deos. At hodie diversa est theologorum sententia. Nam quemadmodum

cum plures eodem fune trahunt navim, multi trahunt, tamen una est tractio: sic nihil vetat personis divinis numero multitudinis tribuere, quod tamen in singulis diversum non est. Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sapiunt, et tamen eadem est sapientia. Tres volunt, et tamen eadem est voluntas. Tres provident, et tamen eadem est providentia. Tres sunt, et tamen eadem est essentia. Ita eadem æternitate tres sunt æterni. Jam cum neget dici tres æternos, tamen post fatetur dici tres coæternos. Neque mihi satisfacit quod Durandus adfert de differentia substantivi nominis et adjectivi, nisi forte sic interpreteris, bonum esse adjectivum, et bonitatem substantivum: Tres boni sunt, non tres bonitates: quemadmodum in corpore multa membra sunt animata, sed eadem est anima. Porro, non video quid intersit inter vocem æterni et Domini. Ut tres sunt æterni, sed eadem æternitate, ita quid vetat dici tres Dominos, sed eodem dominio; Quando non desunt magni nominis theologi, qui vero pioque sensu putant dici posse tres Deos, sed eadem deitate, nimirum si quis sentiat tres esse, quorum quisque dicatur Deus, sed eadem, ut dixi, deitate qua cæteri. Jam quod ait: *Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo; ita Deus et homo unus est Christus*, nisi commode interpretemur, sensum habet hæreticum. Ad hæc, quod hic negat in Trinitate quicquam esse majus, Hilarius non refugit Patrem dicere majorem. Rursus quod hic negat quicquam esse prius, non defuerunt theologi, qui dixerint Patrem aliqua ratione Filio priorem. Jamdudum clamas, lector, Quorsum hæc? Ut ostendam de rebus divinis nihil tam circumspecte dici posse, quin pateat calumniæ; si contingat iniquus interpretes. Proinde satius esse non tam multa definire de hujusmodi rebus, quas nec assequitur intellectus humanus, nec exprimit sermo. Præstat venerari quædam, quam scrutari. Dubium non est quæ et hodie multa de divina natura ignoret ecclesia, cui satis est quod ea novit quæ docet Sacra Scriptura, quæque ad salutis necessitatem pertinent. Ego si quid habuissem auctoritatis in illis synodis, in quibus de orbis concordia tractabatur, suasissem præstare, nescire quid sibi vellet *homusii* et *homæusii* verbum in personis divinis, quam tanto rerum tumultu vel tueri vel impugnare. Sed hæc omnia

adversus Leum dicta sunt, non pro Arianis, quorum omnis hæresis sic est explosa, ut non alia magis, nec est periculum ne quis illam instauret. Nam aliunde nunc est periculum Ecclesiæ si tamen ullum est periculum.

## C. 275.

Lee abused Erasmus for omitting the *three heavenly witnesses* in the first epistle of John, and said that this was giving encouragement to Arianism. Erasmus defends himself, and shows how little this text, if it were genuine, could serve to silence and confute the Arians. He says of these men :

Cum nulla sit hæresis magis extincta, quam Arianorum, mirum unde sic metuat Leus.—Nec enim ulla fuit factio peritior Sacrarum Literarum, quam fuit Arianorum, in hoc suum præceptorem Origenem referentium, quam ego sic devictam gaudeo, ut libros tamen velim eruditionis gratia superesse.

The rest of the remarks of Erasmus, against Lee, are learned, spirited, and elegant, and well deserve to be perused.

*Apologia ad Stunicam, &c.*

Stunica <sup>k</sup> had represented Erasmus as an Arian, and a blasphemer. Erasmus, in return, treats him with no less severity, ridicules him, and exposes his impudence and his calumnies.

## C. 309.

Erasmus had said that the name of *God* was only ascribed to Christ in two or three places of the New Testament. Stunica made him an heretic for this, and produced ten places, where, as he pretended, Christ was called *God*.

## C. 311.

Erasmus in his first edition of the New Testament had called Theophylact *Vulgarius* ; here he corrects this mistake.

<sup>k</sup> Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 246.

## C. 353.

Stunica could not fail to attack Erasmus about the *three witnesses* in 1 John V. Erasmus says:

Ex codice Britannico reposuimus, quod in nostris dicebatur deesse: ne cui sit causa calumniandi. Quanquam et hunc suspicor ad Latinorum codices fuisse castigatum. Posteaquam enim Græci concordiam inierunt cum Ecclesia Romana, studuerunt et hac in parte cum Romanis consentire.

## C. 389.

He says concerning matrimony:

Non coibat apud (Judæos) matrimonium, nisi intercedente auctoritate parentum aut majorum: apud nos sæpe coit inter pueros et puellas, stultos et ebrios, per lenas et impostores, verbis de futuro, sed organis præsentibus. Et tamen hoc matrimonium est indissolubile.—Opinor nec pontifici placere talia matrimonia. Et utinam declararet, sic contracta, non esse matrimonia, quemadmodum declaravit inter foeminam et frigidum.

Erasmus abhorred clandestine marriages; which, though disliked by many, yet have their friends and approvers, namely, *Fortune-hunters*, *Fleet-parsons*, &c.

Of these treatises against Stunica, the first is without date, upon which he threw away, as he says, seven days: the second is dated, 1522. the third is dated 1524. and dedicated to Faber, afterwards bishop of Vienna; it took him up only one day: the fourth is dated 1529. and dedicated to Hubertus Barlandus, a physician.

It is needless to give a particular account of the objections of Stunica. Let it suffice to observe that he hath collected and abused all the best things that are to be found in the theological works of Erasmus.

*Apologia ad Caranzam.*

Caranza<sup>1</sup> had undertaken the defence of Stunica; and Erasmus here gives him a very smart answer. This important divine, who represents Erasmus as an Arian heretic,

! Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 276.

hath run himself into Sabellianism. Many a divine, besides Caranza, hath had the same misfortune.

*Apologia de loco taxato per Egmondanum.*

Egmond and Standish had called Erasmus heretic for translating 1 Cor. XV. 51. from the Greek: *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed.*

*Prologus in Supputationes Beddæ, &c.*

These <sup>m</sup> are his replies to the censures of Bedda, another of his shameless calumniators. Erasmus pays him in kind, and treats him as an impudent liar, a slanderer, a block-head, a heretic, and a blasphemmer.

C. 448.

Bedda professus dogmatum confutationem, objicit illa quoque quæ mihi in manu non sunt. Non semel exprobrat paupertatem et fortunam adversam, corporis imbecillitatem et senectutem, ipse non ita multo me junior.

C. 451.

The prefatory epistle to his Replies to Bedda, is addressed to the faculty at Paris, and dated, A. 1526.

C. 521.

Unum referam, quod nuper accidit apud Hispanos. Theologus ordinis Franciscani, nomen et cognomen tacebitur, quod illic jam nemo nescit, res enim acta est publicitus magnoque tumultu, protulit ex meis libris aliquot damnatas sententias, quarum una fuit: Scripseram, in Enchiridio, ni fallor, *Hæc est vera germanaque theologia, quæ et philosophorum supercilia et regum sceptrâ subjecit Christo.* Hic dira vociferabatur in meum nomen, qui negarim usquam esse veram theologiam præterquam in Germania. Hæc genus exempla plus triginta possim referre, quæ ipsi in publicis concionibus ac prælectionibus, imo libris editis, voluerunt omnibus esse nota.

C. 568.

He says of Gerson :

<sup>m</sup> Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 337.



Theologus humi fere repens, quod ad verum Christianismum attinet,—cui tamen viro magis defuit seculum, quam ingenium, aut industria.

## C. 580.

Here Erasmus honestly and boldly persists in his opinion, that heretics ought not to be put to death.

## C. 697.

He declares himself very little skilled in the French language.

*Apologia adversus Sutores.*

Dedicated to Joannes Selva. From a passage in the dedication, it appears to have been written when Francis I. was made prisoner; which was A. 1525.

Erasmus represents Sutor as the most consummate fool, and impudent blockhead, that ever he had to contend with,

Ex Leo nonnihilo didici, Latomus adduxit nonnulla non indigna cognitu, Stunica multa docuit, licet aliena. Ex hoc loquacissimo libro Sutoris, ita me Deus amet, non video quid disci possit, nisi rabiosa maledicentia, præsertim cum cætera omnia sint aliena, præterque insana convitia, nihil hic habeat proprium.

## C. 781.

At ego multos novi candidos theologos, ac longe dissimiles isti Sutori, qui senes et cani hortabantur tamen tyrones theologiæ, ut linguas ac bonas literas amplecterentur; deplorantes infelicitatem sui seculi, quod ipsis non contigissent eadem, non invidentes junioribus studiorum accessionem. Ex his unum nominabo, quem in Anglia plurimi norunt, et arbitror adhuc superesse. Nomen erat *Melton*, cancellarius ecclesiæ Eboracensis. Edidit libellum, *De examinandis his, qui sacris cupiunt initiari*. Erat vir impeditiore lingua, sed impense doctus, vita inculpatissima, moribus candidissimis. Testes erunt qui student Cantabrigiæ, virum illum usum apud juvenes hac adhortatione, quam Sutor vocat hæreticam. R. P. Joannem episcopum Roffensem (Fisher) nec ipse Sutor, opinor, audebit contemnere, ea est hominis integritas, eruditio, et

auctoritas apud bonos omnes. Et tamen is jam vergens ad annum quadragesimum, magno studio didicit Græcas et Hebraicas literas, et ut idem faciant instigat alios, ac sumtibus juvat: non ut intelligant Homerum aut Lucianum, nihil minus illi cordi est, sed ut plenius intelligant Divinas Scripturas. An et hunc Sutor scribes inter insanos, hæreticos, et blasphemos? R. D. Cardinalis Eboracensis Oxoniæ instituit Collegium regali munificentia, quod *apum* dicitur, ac præfecit illi theologum, ut intelligas negotium agi theologiæ. Idem ante paucos annos factum est Lovanii, cui et ipsi theologus præsidet. Simile Collegium nascitur Tornaci, faventibus et approbantibus bonis omnibus. Pontifices Romani conducunt, alunt ac provehunt, qui publice doceant tres linguas, Collegia donant amplis privilegiis, an hos omnes agitat spiritus diabolicus? Agitat haud dubie, si Sutori credimus. At si cogamur alterum credere, malim profiteri tales Sutores tam impotenter maledicos, tam perversi cerebri, tam sinistri judicii, agitari Satanæ spiritu. Si lingua Hebraica non est discenda propter Cabalam et Talmud, multo minus propter Vetus Testamentum, insanus sit, aut etiam hæreticus, qui huic dat operam.

Insanit et hæresim præcipit, præter locum quem ex Digestis citavimus, decretalis illa constitutio, titulo *De Magistris*, quæ jubet in celebribus academiis conduci, qui tres linguas doceant, quod conducant ad intelligenda Divinæ Scripturæ mysteria. Hæc si non legit Sutor, insigniter indoctus est; si dissimulat, egregie nugator est,

### C. 783.

—de Sacris Libris in linguam vulgatam vertendis, dogma meum non est, nec ego unquam fui auctor, ut quisquam Sacros Libros verteret in linguam vulgatam, nec ipse tale quicquam unquam aggressus sum, et ingenue fateor optimum esse ut populus discat viva voce, si contingat boni doctoris copia, nec omnia tamen apud populum promiscuum effundenda: tantum locis aliquot adversus illos disserui, qui putant actum de fide Christiana, si vulgus attingat Sacras Literas.

Here is a little tergiversation, and Erasmus seems to retract what he had advanced in many places.

## C. 788.

He commends De Loine<sup>n</sup>, Copus, and Hermannus of Gauda :

Puto neminem esse inter eos, qui nihil aliud profitentur quam juris prudentiam, quin Deloini suspexerit eruditionem etiam in hoc genere. Præter has dotes, quantum illi adjunxerunt humanitatis literæ? quantum tenebat disciplinarum? quas scribebat epistolas? Nam adhuc aliquot apud me sunt, extemporales quidem, nec ulla ex parte lucernam olentes, sed Deum immortalem! quàm felices, quam elegantes, quantum sani judicii, quantum vigorem ingenii, quantum candoris et humanitatis, quam nihil gloriæ, nihil arrogantiae, nihil quæstus præ se ferentes! Quis erat illo sene (nam admodum natu grandis erat) commodior magisque comis ad vitæ consuetudinem? quis magis amicus amico? quis æque puri niveique pectoris? Qualis evasisset ille, si puer attigisset rectiora studia, quæ tunc temporis nondum in Galliam demigrarant? Quid optabilius quam si omnes juris professores tales essent, qualis erat Deloinus? Quantum ille sui desiderium reliquit apud optimum quemque, cum tamen justa senectute decesserit? Quis illi non optabat immortalitatem? Non inficior apud Gallos esse medicos egregie doctos, nec libet collatione personarum quemquam offendere: tantum illud dicam, quod neminem latere potest, Guilhelmum Copum etiam summis esse suspiciendum. Quantum vir ille medicorum arti lucis, judicii, decorisque adjunxit? An quoquam inferior est in ulla parte philosophiæ, aut in mathematicis, quod linguarum peritiam et veterum auctorum notitiam addiderit? Pauci sunt anni, quod Parisiis inter theologos prima laurea delata est Hermanno a Gauda conterraneo meo (liceat enim hactenus gloriari) juveni et linguarum peritiæ et politioribus literis affatim instructo. Erant in ea classe, qui præter solennia nihil attigerant. Et tamen hic cæteris palmam præripuit, imo toti potius ordini theologico multum decoris addidit. Horum similes non paucos commemorare possim. Eat nunc Sutor, et ex sui putidi cerebri vaticinio pericula proferat, si quis quid linguarum aut literaturæ politioris attingat.

▪ Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 24. 76.

## C. 789.

He says of indulgences :

Occasio data est per Dominicanos quosdam, qui pontificias indulgentias prædicabant tam impudenter, ne dicam impie, ut populus ferre non posset.

## C. 796.

Nihil moror Sutorem curatorem, qui ipse maxime eget curatore. Tales enim hæreticos facere solent, non mederi lapsis, aut confirmare vacillantes. Sic propulsus est ab Ecclesia Arius, sic Tertullianus egressus est ab Ecclesia, sic Wyclevus factus est factionis auctor, quod in eum monachi quidam nullum faciebant debacchandi modum.

It is very true.

*Appendix de Scriptis Jodoci Clithovei.*

This is a short defence of his declamation in praise of matrimony.

*Declarationes ad Censuras Facultatis Theologiæ  
Parisiensis.*

The faculty in 1526. had condemned several propositions extracted from his Paraphrases, and his Dialogues. This is a defence of himself, in which he treats those divines with more civility and respect than they deserved: for they declared him an heretic, and a dæmoniac, and consequently one who deserved to be burned, according to the doctrine of those days; and they certainly would have roasted him alive, if he had dwelt at Paris, unless the civil magistrates had interposed.

## C. 842.

He hath a good fling at his own times :

Jura pontificia clericis interdiciunt arma invasoria, defensoria concedunt. Defensoria vocant loricas, clypeos, et galeas; quamquam nos nunc interpretamur defensoria, quæ defendendi animo sumuntur: nimirum posteaquam pontifices, honoris gratia, stipari cœperunt profano satellitio, etiam in mensa ac templo, posteaquam Episcopi cœperunt iter facere comitati trecentis armatis equitibus, posteaquam

cardinales, honoris gratia, cœperunt appellari *Legati Campi*.

## C. 908.

He describes the persecuting prelates :

Nunc abbates et episcopi quidam gratissimum Deo sacrificium existimant, si suo ferro suaque manu quamplurimos occidant.

## C. 917.

Guilhelmus Grocinus Anglus, vir, dum viveret, severissimæ castissimæque vitæ. Ecclesiasticarum constitutionum observantissimus, pene usque ad superstitionem, scholasticæ theologiæ ad unguem doctus, ac natura etiam acerrimi judicii, demum in omni disciplinarum genere exacte versatus. Is ante annos triginta Londini in æde divo Paulo sacra, &c.

See the story above, vol. i. p. 195.

*Responsio ad Phimostomum.*

Addressed, in the year 1532. Clariss. Viro J. V. Doct. N. S. D. to whom, it seems, *Phimostomus* had dedicated his dissertation against Erasmus. Who is this *vir clarissimus*? Perhaps Joannes Vlattenus, a great friend of Erasmus.

He defends here what he had said concerning divorce, on 1 Cor. vii. It is an excellent answer.

*Responsio ad Juvenem Gerontodidasalum.*

Against a prating, half-learned, young Franciscan, who was assisted by others, and who attacked his version of the epistle to the Romans, and his notes upon it.

## C. 992.

He gives it as his opinion that infant-baptism was not practised in the time of St. Paul.

*Apologia adversus Monachos Hispanos.*

Dedicated to Alphonsus Manricus, archbishop of Seville, A. 1528.

In this apology he defends himself against the imputation of Arianism, by producing a multitude of passages from his own writings.

## C. 1054.

Hespeaks of the cruelty of the Inquisition.

—Vix reperio quomodo tuear exemplum quod hodie videmus in nonnullis, qui ob opiniones scholasticas illico pertrahunt ad carceres et incendium: veluti nunc exuri videmus sacerdotes, qui puellam, quicum habent consuetudinem, malunt uxorem appellare quam concubinam.—

Res agitur per relatores, deputatos, ac iudices monachos, nec sincere, nec legitima juris forma, pronunciant in carcere tres priores, monachis duobus testibus, et apparatus rogas.

## C. 1087.

Tantum hoc dicam, an hic primatus pontificis, quem nunc illi tribuunt quidam, qui docent pontificem quamlibet malum et impium non posse destitui, nec objurgandum esse, tantum blande admonendum a summis principibus: qui docent, si universa Ecclesia decerneret aliquid, et solus pontifex, puta Alexander sextus, diversum probaret, omnes ut schismaticos et hæreticos ituros in Tartara, solum Alexandrum evolaturum ad superos: qui docent, ad statuendum aliquid quantumvis grave nihil opus esse pontifici concilio vel generali, vel provinciali, ne cardinalium quidem, si velit uti potestate absoluta: an hic, inquam, primatus sit institutus a Christo vehementer addubito.

*Responsiones ad Albertum Pium.*

Containing an epistle to Albertus, which is also printed in the volume of Epistles C. 1709. Ep. 333. and is dated A. 1525; an answer to Albertus, A. 1729, and a second answer, after Albertus was dead. This controversial work of Erasmus is a master-piece.

## C. 1170.

De Apocalypsi—ingenue fateor me submittere sensum meum iudicio Ecclesiæ, cujus auctoritas nisi me moveret, plane confirmarem illud opus non esse Joannis Evangelistæ. Nunc recipio eo animo, quo recepit universalis Ecclesia.

## C. 1180.

An protinus evertit Petri cathedræ auctoritatem, qui

deplorat aliquando existere pontifices, qui sub umbra religionis tyrannidem exercent? Erasmus nusquam dixit, Ο Φιλαίτιε, ecclesiasticam potestatem esse tyrannidem, sed tales exoriri nonnunquam Romanos pontifices. Quod utinam accidat rarius. Lutherus longe alia prædicat de pontifice Romano, et infinitis partibus atrociora, sed ea non legit Pius, et commodius simul ac tutius putat cum Erasmo jurgari. *Parcat, inquit, tibi summus Deus.* Imo parcat summus Deus pontificibus, qui tanto scandalo sunt interdum ecclesiæ Christi.

Nihil indignor urbi, nec ibi quicquam venatus sum, imo illa me complexa est humanius quam pro meritis meis. Sed urget me, num quando viderim Romæ quemquam piratam factum episcopum? Omitto quid viderim; audeat ipse negare nonnumquam ad summas dignitates evehi, si non piratas, certe homicidas, veneficos, simoniacos, ac vitiiis aliis non hic referendis obnoxios. Exponat nobis quid est quod stomachatur Hieronymus a gregibus exoletorum admitti ad episcopi dignitatem.

*Epistola de esu carniū.*

Addressed to the Bishop of Basil °, A. 1522.

The design of this epistle is to moderate the superstitious and rigid notions then entertained concerning fasting, and the distinction of foods, and an apology for his own conduct in that respect. Wechel was brought into trouble for reprinting it. See Bayle, *Wechel*, and Maittaire, iii. 457.

This epistle of Erasmus, together with his replies to *Stunica* and *Caranza*, and *Caranza's* book against Erasmus, was printed, *Lutetiæ, arte—Petri Vidovæi—Impensis Conradi Resch, A. 1523. 8vo.*

*Caranza's* book is treated by these editors with great contempt:

*Subjecimus ipsum Sanctii [Caranzæ] libellum, non contaminaturi chartas nostras talibus ineptiis, nisi visum fuisset ipsa re fidem facere lectori, quam gloriosus theologus, quam non theologice rem gesserit.*

*Sanctii Caranzæ—Annotationes—adversus Erasmus, —cui quidem hoc ipsum debet, quod ejus libellus denuo sit*

° Christophorus Utenhemius.

*editus; ne sit quod possit calumniari; alioqui typographis operam suam et chartas non temere talibus nugis perdituris.*

*De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe.*

Erasmus wrote this treatise A. 1525. He sets out with remarks on the difficulty of the subject, and with declarations that he would treat Luther, against whom he writes, with decency and civility; and he keeps his promise, and shows much moderation.

He speaks of himself as of one so little disposed to dogmatizing, that he was, as he declares, rather inclined to *scepticism*, where the Scriptures and the church would give him leave.

He gently censures Augustin, for representing men as mere machines, impelled by God himself to vice or to virtue; and he rejects the notion that good works performed by Pagans, or by other persons, were mere sins in the sight of God.

Augustinus ex colluctatione cum Pelagio factus est iniquior libero arbitrio, quam fuerat antea.

He represents the doctrine of Predestinarian Fatality as extremely dangerous to the morals of men, and as a doctrine which, till then, had been embraced by no persons of note, except Manichæus and Wichiff.

He proceeds without acrimony, yet not without some small strokes of irony, giving hints that Luther and his disciples were tinctured with fanaticism.

He allows that Pelagius had carried his system of liberty rather too far, but he speaks of him without any thing like insult and severity. He thinks that Pelagius might have come off, by the help of a proper distinction, T. x. c. 1502. He shows himself throughout to have been much of the same opinion, which the Semipelagians before his days, and the remonstrants afterwards entertained.

*Cujus auxilio Erasmus scriptum de Libero Arbitrio confecerit, epistola inedita ad Ludovicum Berum indicat his verbis:*

D. Præposito [Ludovico Bero]

S. Amice incomparabilis. Mitto ad te primam manum



nugamenti de Libero Arbitrio. Hic perdidit dies quinque non sine magno tædio. Sciebam me non versari in mea arena. Rogo dignere inspicere, et indicare, ubi a toto scopo aberraverim. Nolim tamen hoc ad alios permanare. Bene vale.

Miegius, in *Bibl. Brem. Hasæi*, class. II. fasc. iv. p. 477.

## TOMUS X.

### *Hyperaspistes Diatribæ.*

LUTHER, in answer to the attack of Erasmus, wrote his *Servum Arbitrium*; to which Erasmus made this reply in two books. The preface to the first is dated A. 1526.

Erasmus here had the advantage over Luther, in point of reason, scripture, primitive Christianity, and the Greek fathers. But as Luther had treated him with too much virulence, he returns it to him with not much less acrimony.

These treatises, though written, like the other works of Erasmus, with good sense, life, and spirit, yet, I know not how, are somewhat tiresome. They are wordy and diffuse, and a great part of them is employed in exposing all the false reasonings of Luther, and in repelling his insults, things in which posterity is little interested. The question might have been discussed, and the doctrine of divine assistance, conditional decrees, and human liberty established in a smaller compass.

He complains of the great rudeness and unfairness of Luther, who was pleased to call him an atheist and an epicurean; he says that Luther had been assisted by some person, who had polished his style for him. He suspected Melancthon, who thus writes to Sigism. Gelenius, A. 1526.

Erasmmum quæso ut mihi places; nam quod suspicatur Lutherum mea uti opera, valde errat: ego enim neque illis acerbis conflictationibus delector (nosti enim meam naturam) et imprimis hos duos nollem inter se commissos esse.  
C. 641. Ed. Lond.

## C. 1251.

He observes how favourably Melanchthon, though of the Lutheran party, had judged of his Diatribe.

Philippus Melanchthon huc scripsit meam Diatribam æquissimis animis acceptam Wittembergæ. Et adjecit, iniquissimum sibi videri; si non liceret in Ecclesia suam cuique sententiam dicere.

## C. 1256.

Erasmus says :

—Tantum illud obiter dicam, me jam pridem non *diligenter* legisse Locos Melanchthonis, qui si mihi per omnia satisfecissent, abstinuissem a Diatriba.

It should be, I think, *indiligenter*.

## C. 1486.

He speaks very favourably of the English scholars :

—Non arbitror ullam esse provinciam, ex animo loquor, quæ pluribus insigniter eruditis viris abundet in omni literarum genere, quamquam pauci suas evulgant lucubrationes.

## C. 1517.

He again cites the epistle of Cicero to Octavius, which is spurious.

## C. 1518. and 1584.

Concerning the state of unbaptized infants, he speaks thus :

Quomodo vero Deus servet immerentes, et damnet immerentes, quod certe verum est in infantibus non baptizatis, satis arbitror naturali ratione comprehendere non posse.— Infantes, ut arbitror, præstat Dei judicio relinquere.— Augustinus adversus Pelagianos decertans, studio Gratia, tam parum tribuit libero arbitrio, ut nomine tribuat aliquid verius quam re. Rursus cum iis dimicans, qui dicebant infantes nihil damnationis contrahere ex peccato primorum parentum, ait illos, si sine baptismo decesserint, æternis ignibus exurendos. Utramque sententiam posteriores theologi moderati sunt, aliquanto plus tribuentes libero arbitrio,—item infantium damnationem temperantes, distin-

guendo pœnam damni à pœna sensus. Joannes autem Gerson nec desperare videtur omnino de salute infantis, si parentum pietas insignis Dei bonitatem gnæviter sollicitarit.

C. 1524, 1525.

He judges favourably enough of Julian, the Pelagian bishop, of whom I have given an account in the second of Six Dissertations; and he insinuates that Augustin, in this controversy about Grace, was sometimes a perverse wrangler. See also C. 1435.

*Adversus Epistolam Lutheri.*

The impetuous Luther wrote a very virulent epistle against the last-mentioned work of Erasmus, representing him as a reprobate, a pagan, and what not? To this Erasmus replies with much vehemence. He defends a Catechism which he had composed, and which Luther had censured. He defends himself with relation to the doctrine of the Trinity, and against the accusations of Arianism thrown out by Luther, and by others; as also against the charge of obscenity in explaining some passages of Scripture, and other imputations.

*Præstigiæ Libelli cujusdam Detectio.*

This is a vindication of himself, published A. 1526. against an anonymous Lutheran, who charged him with holding the sentiments of the Evangelics concerning the Lord's Supper, but not daring to own them. In this reply he defends himself as well as he can, and declares that he is of the opinion held by the Romanists. But he certainly was full of <sup>p</sup> doubts and perplexities, and had too much erudition and too much sense to swallow without reluctance the *monster of transubstantiation*; and he avoids adopting that word. The prejudices of education seem to have stuck by him, as also a certain confused notion of church-authority. He appears to have been much piqued and very angry at this attack. Certainly it was not fair in his adversary to reproach him for this polite and candid testimony, which he had given of Oecolampadius to the senate of Basil:

<sup>p</sup> Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 345.

S. P. *Magnifici Domini*, Celsitudinis vestræ hortatu perlegi librum Joannis Oecolampadii de verbis Cœnæ Domini, mea sententia doctum, disertum, et elaboratum; adderem etiam pium, si quid pium esse posset, quod pugnat cum sententia consensuque Ecclesiæ, a qua dissentire periculosum esse iudico.

*Epistola contra quosdam, qui se falso jactant Evangelicos, &c.*

This epistle is addressed, A. 1529. to Vulturius Neocomus, that is, to Gerardus Noviomagus, or Geldenhaur, with whom Erasmus had been well acquainted, who was a zealous Lutheran, or an Evangelic, and who had provoked Erasmus by representing him as once inclined to that party, and then opposing it, and instigating the Catholics against it. Erasmus replies with much spirit and elegance.

This man had complained mournfully to Erasmus of his great poverty: upon which Erasmus rather banters and insults, than comforts him. But he was very angry.

He had appealed to Erasmus, as to one who had said that heretics ought not to be persecuted and destroyed. To this Erasmus replies, by making a paltry distinction between different heretics, and saying that he did not pretend to restrain the civil magistrate from putting blasphemers to death. He adds:

Quæso te, per amicitiam nostram, an tibi parum videor gravatus invidia, nisi studio tantum addas sarcinæ? Adversus tot. viperas, adversus tot crocodilos, adversus tot excetras ægre me sustineo favorem monarcharum, nec ulla res erat, quæ poterat illos magis alienare, &c. Si hoc agis, ut me perdas, quo evanuit animus ille tuus, olim tam amicus? &c.

He then speaks warmly against the Reformed, as having reformed nothing in their own manners, but being rather worse than they were before, and having made their adversaries of the church of Rome more formidable and mischievous than ever.

Nunc, antea contemptis theologis ac monachis, per vos data est magna tyrannis excutiendi facultatibus, si quibus male velint; conjiciendi in vincula, denique exurendi,

quod jam experti sunt complures, nemo non metuit. Antea licebat varias agitare quæstiones, de potestate Pontificis, de condonationibus, de restituendo, de purgatorio: nunc tutum non est hiscere, ne de iis quidem quæ vere pieque dicuntur. Et credere cogimur quod homo gignit ex se opera meritoria, quod benefactis meretur vitam æternam etiam de condigno; quod beata Virgo potest imperare Filio cum Patre regnanti, ut exaudiat hujus aut illius preces, aliaque permulta, ad quæ piæ mentes inhorrescunt. Antehac nemo magnopere molestus erat vescenti carnibus modo privatim; nunc pro hæretico trahitur in carcerem, et de capite periclitatur, qui vel valetudine coactus gustarit ovum in Quadragesima. Antea licebat conspuere monachos ac theologos; eosdem nunc sic armastis, ut capitale sit quemquam verbo lacescere. Antea licebat vobis proficisci quod lubebat, nunc aut latitatis metu, aut paucis civitatibus velut obsessi continemini. Antea clericos consecratio tuebatur a rigore profani juris, nunc sacerdotes æque atque cerdonea a carnifice torquentur, cæduntur, suspenduntur, decollantur, exuruntur, sine ulla <sup>9</sup> regradatione. Sic effugistis regnum Pontificis, &c. Hæc sunt renascentis Evangelii vestri præclara auspicia. Quid immineat malorum vos divinate. C. 1583.

He proceeds to exhort people to be quiet, and not to think of carrying on a reformation by violent methods, but to bear such evils as could not be cured.

Then follow two ingenious epistles on the same subject, one to an Evangelic, whom he calls Eleutherius, dated A. 1530. the second to one whom he calls Grunnius, dated A. 1531.

We have spoken of this dispute, in the Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 434. There is a good account of Geldenhaur, and of his works, in the *Biblioth. of Hasæus*, class. v. fasc. xi. p. 296. from which I have made the following extract:

Erasmus Gerhardum Geldenhaurium non semel vocat *Vulturium Neocomum*. Quænam autem, sodes, illius denominationis ratio? Apparet illa ex iis, quæ ipse Erasmus ad Eleutherium scripsit. *Quam porro candide interpretaris nomen Vulturii, quasi illi intendam avaritiæ crimen? Sed*

<sup>9</sup> Degradatione, I suppose.

*si nesciebas Vulturium esse jactum talorum, saltem scire poteras me alluisse ad verum illius nomen juxta linguam Germanicam. Id eo feci, ut apud pauciores traduceretur. Scilicet alludebat ad prænomen Gerhardi, quasi Gierærdt, h. e. e genere vulturum. Gier enim Belgis est vultur, ut Germanis Geyer. Miror tamen hoc nomen Erasmus exprobrasse Geldenaurio: potuisset enim ex lege talionis eum appellare Vulturium Vulturii, atque ita ejus verum nomen, quod fuit Gerhardus Gerhardi, Belgice, Geert Geertzen exprimere.*

Geldenaurius primum Philippo Burgundo principi et dioceseos Ultrajectinæ episcopo 1522. a secretis, Cæsari- que Carolo V. a consiliis et historiis, demum post renatum Evangelium, in academia Marpurgensi theologiæ professor fuit, et in ea statione mortuus, A. 1542.

Inter alia ejus opera exstat :

*Desiderii Erasmi Annotationes in Leges Pontificias et Cæsareas de Hæreticis, nec non Epistolæ variæ Gerhardi Noviomagi de Re Evangelica et Hæreticorum Pœnis, &c. Argent. 1527.*

Hic liber est, qui animum Erasmi, quo alias Geldenaurius, ut ex literis editis ultro citroque datis satis apparet, valde amico fuerat usus, ab eo prorsus alienavit, ansamque illi præbuit notam illam in *Pseudevangelicos* epistolam, plenam atræ bilis et scommatum conscribendi.

### *Epistola ad Fratres Germaniæ Inferioris.*

Written A. 1530.

This also is a defence of himself against the attacks of the Reformed, who were much offended at the foregoing treatises.

It is a heavy charge which he brings against them in these words :

Miris modis urgent ne hæretici trucidentur, cum ipsi Anabaptistas plectant capite, qui multo paucioribus articulis damnati sunt, et in suo sodalitiio plurimos habere dicuntur, qui a perditissima vita ad emendatissimam se converterint, utcumque delirant in opinionibus, nec ullas ecclesias aut urbes occuparunt, nec se fœderibus communierunt adver-

sus vim principum, nec quemquam suâ ditione aut facultatibus ejecerunt, &c.

How little was the doctrine of toleration understood or practised in those days! And what folly and cruelty was it in the Reformed, to put to death those poor people, I mean those Anabaptists, who were of a pacific and non-resisting disposition, and who thought the use of arms utterly unlawful, even in their own defence!

But, amongst other things, Erasmus objects to the Reformed, that they took upon them to interpret the Scriptures for themselves. As if it were possible for a rational creature to do otherwise!

They reproached him for getting money, and receiving presents, to which he says:

In Germania, ubi carissima sunt omnia, meæ pecuniæ jam aliquot florenorum millia consumsi, neque cuiquam assem debeo. Unde venirent divitiæ? Nec paucis eget hoc corpusculum, neque parvo mihi constant amanuenses, postremo nec frugi sum paterfamilias, nec esse possum cyminopristes. c. 1612.

He gives Farellus a bad character:

Superest Pharellus, bone Christe, quam pius, quam innocens vir!—Si nunc est conversus ad meliorem frugem, gratulor homini. Qualis olim erat, mihi valde displicuit, seditiosus, acidæ linguæ, et vanissimus, &c. c. 1617.

When the Lutherans attack him for departing from his former and freer sentiments, he is hard beset, and makes the best retreat that he can, sometimes a poor one.

*Spongia adversus adspergines Hutteni.*

Erasmus had declined receiving a visit from his friend Hutten, who had acted as a warm and violent Lutheran. Erasmus chose to avoid his company, for fear of passing himself as a favourer of the Evangelics, and for other reasons. This raised the wrath of Hutten, and produced a most scurrilous and malicious book against Erasmus, the drift of which was to show that Erasmus had been at first a friend to the Reformation, and then a deserter from the cause, and from his old friends, and a determined and violent enemy.

Erasmus here fights a good battle, and defends himself dextrously and elegantly. He was a very ready writer; for this reply, as he assures us, took him up only six days. *Totos sex dies perdidit.* It is dedicated to Zuinglius, whom he calls *virum doctissimum*.

Hutten was in hopes by abusing Erasmus to throw him into a fit of sickness:

—Inter Scythicas voces, insignis immanitatis testes, etiam illa jactabatur: Hoc libello conjiciam Erasmus in lectum. Et quoniam casu incidit morbus ex percussu solis, fortasse nunc triumphat ac plaudit sibi. Verum ne putet me tam nullius esse animi, ut pejus valeam, etiamsi quindecim tales libelli scribantur in me. c. 1670.

He gives some account of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, and treats it as a work of more wit than discretion. He says that he himself was very unjustly suspected of writing it, and that it was composed by three persons whom he names not. c. 1640.

He confesseth that he was apt to be very open in conversation:

In conviviiis aut confabulationibus amicorum nugor, quicquid in buccam venit, sæpe liberius quam expedit. Et hoc mihi vitium est maximum, ut ait Terentianus ille Parmeno. c. 1639.

Nonnunquam in eodem convivio, Carneadem referens, disputo pro Luthero, et contra Lutherum.—Mihi placet hæc libertas in conviviiis et familiaribus colloquiis, qua sæpe utor immodice, aliorum animos ex meo æstimans. Ac ne me vitiis omnibus liberem, hoc mihi vitium est præcipuum, sic insitum, ut ægre possim vincere, cum non semel expertus sim quosdam, oblitos quam multa ipsi liberrime dixerint, quod a nobis dictum fuerat meminisse, ac referre, et per occasionem impingere, multis interim, ut fit, afflictis ac depravatis. c. 1653.

Quibus propius notus sum, illud mihi vitium ceu peculiare tribuunt, linguæ libertatem immodicam, quæ verum tacere nesciat. Atque hæc est præcipua causa, cur me ab aulis principum subduxerim, in quibus, velis nolis, multa indigna atque iniqua mussanda sunt. c. 1664.

Simili fronte facit me versipellem quempiam, omnia



simulandi ac dissimulandi mirum artificem. Quam vero hic totum Erasmum ignorat Huttenus, cui nihil est difficilius quam simulare ac dissimulare: quia potius ingenium est usque ad stultitiæ vitium, simplex et apertum, lingua periculose libera, et adeo non soleo fallere quemquam simulata blanditiæ, ut si quid offendat, oratio severior sit quam animus. c. 1666.

Erasmus, speaking of his old enemy Lee, declares himself not unwilling to be reconciled to him:

Veretur Huttenus, ne cum Leo quoque in gratiam redeam. Nec id gravarer facere, dicam enim ingenue, si ille declararet animum amicitia dignum. Salutavi hominem Caletii forte obvium, et dextram dextræ junxi. Quidni, cum jam inter nos debellatum esset. c. 1649.

He describes some moderate papists, meaning himself, without question, as one of them:

Sunt quidam homines docti, meoque judicio minime mali, qui pleraque Lutheri probant, et cuperent accisam esse Romanicis potestatem, cuperent pro mundano principe, doctorem Evangelicum, pro tyranno patrem; optarent subversas mensas ementium ac vendentium in templo Domini, optarent coercitam intolerabilem impudentiam *Indulgentiariorum*, *Compositionariorum*, *Dispensationariorum*, *Bullariorum*, optarent multum decedere ceremoniis, et addi studia veræ pietatis. Cuperent Evangelii vigorem, quod jam perire obsoleverat, reviviscere. Cuperent divinæ Scripturæ auctoritati cedere dogmata et opiniones hominum, cuperent humanas constitutiones non præferri præceptis Dei. Nollent scholastica decreta quævis habere vim oraculi, dolentes populum Christianum gravari quibusdam humanis constitutionibus, veluti de delectu ciborum, de multitudine festorum, de reservatione casuum, de gradibus cognationis adstrictis, de cognatione spirituali. Vellent etiam quædam humana placita cedere publicæ utilitati, quod genus est, ex solo consensu coire matrimonium. Cuperent explicari conscientias hominum nimis multis laqueis impeditas. Cuperent conciones esse liberas ac sanctas, cuperent episcopos, qui nunc magna ex parte nihil aliud sunt quam mundani principes, esse vere episcopos: monachos, quibus nunc nihil est mundanum, esse vere monachos. Hi Lutheri favent hoc nomine, quod hanc

provinciam fortiter videatur aggressus. Cum his mihi si fœdus non est, certe manet vetus amicitia, literarum glutino conciliata, etsi non consentimus in omnibus.—Sunt rursus quidam indocti, nullius iudicii, vitæ impuræ, obtrectatores, perversi, intractabiles, sic addicti Lutheri, ut nec sciant nec servent quod Lutherus docet. Tantum evangelium habent in ore, negligunt preces et sacra, vescuntur quibuslibet, et maledicunt Romano pontifici.—Itaque fiet horum vitio, ut nec illa corrigantur de quibus mundus merito queritur.—Adeo vero stupidi sunt fere, ut non intelligant sese plurimum officere causæ cui favent, et qui velit illis prodesse, necesse habeat eos fallere, veluti cum medicus imponit phrenetico daturus pharmacum. Cum hoc hominum genere nullum optarim ego commercium.

Erasmus complains more than once that, amongst other abuses, some ecclesiastics were so heavy laden with pre-ferments and pluralities, that they could not walk upright under them.

Melanchthon was greatly offended at Hutten's scurrilous libel :

Nihil unquam perinde offendit hic, atque impuri illius  
Ἐρασμομάσιγος crudelis criminatio.—

Quod Hutteni libellum misisti, gratum est. Nam tametsi improbam criminationem, et plusquam hostilem, pene συκοφαντικὴν dixerim, probare non possum, tamen referebat vidisse nostra. Epist. Melanchth. p. 45. et 58.

*Responsio adversus Febricitantis cujusdam Libellum.*

This is a reply to the impudent attack of one Ludovicus Carvailus, as he called himself, who was, or who pretended to be, a Franciscan monk, and undertook the defence of monkery against Erasmus. Erasmus answers with life, and wit, and severity.

C. 1673.

Bene habet, quod præfatur, se cum hæc moliretur gravi laborasse febrî, per quam non vacavit ullum librum inspicere ; ut si quid mentiatur, videatur memoriæ lapsus ; si quid deliret, febrî imputetur.

C. 1684.

Si Cæsar satis nosset hunc impostorem, ageret illum in

crucem, vel decem Franciscanis cucullis onustum: et si proceres ordinis intelligerent, quantum dedecus conciliat nomini Franciscano, cæsum virgis dederent illum perpetuo carceri. Verum ego suspicor fictis nominibus rem geri, nec Franciscanum esse, imo ne Christianum quidem, sed Judæum. Nam hujus colluviei magna turba se miscet huic ecclesie tempestati.

*Admonitio adversus Mendacium.*

This is a defence of his behaviour towards Eppendorf.

*Antibarbarorum Liber primus.*

Dedicated to Joannes Sapidus.

This is a defence of polite literature, against the barbarians of those times, part of a work begun in his youth, afterwards lost, and then recollected by him as well as he could. There is in it much vivacity, and a juvenile luxury; but it mends upon us as we proceed in reading it, and the latter part is superior to the beginning.

The strayed books of the *Antibarbari* were in England, and afterwards seen by Ascham, who made an offer of them to Froben. But I imagine that Froben, having given an edition of all the works of Erasmus, in nine tomes, in the year 1540. and amongst them the fragment of the *Antibarbari*, prepared for the press by Erasmus, was not inclined to make any additions to that collection.

*Hieronymo Frobenio* S. P. Eruditum te, ex tuis scriptis, Hieronyme Frobeni, humanum atque bonum, ex aliorum sermonibus esse intellexi: et eo facilius patiebar me adduci rogatu doctissimi viri, et utriusque nostrum valde amantis Hieronymi Wolfii, ut imprimis tibi significarem literis meis illos D. Erasmi *Antibarbarorum* libros diu desideratos, et olim Romæ Richardo Paceo surreptos, adhuc in Anglia reservari. Liber ad me proximo superiore anno adferebatur, et eo utebar Cantabrigiæ aliquot mensibus: integri ne libri sint, an *λείπόμενον τι*, plane ignoro: egi cum illo, in cujus manus devenerunt, ut in lucem apparerent, quod ille facile mihi concedebat. Atque cum mihi, ab ineunte ætate,

† See Knight, p. 57. Baillet, vii. p. 352. Burigni, tom. i. p. 315.

perspecta sit illa multorum officiorum et benevolentiae conjunctio, quæ vestrae Frobenianæ familiæ cum Erasmo intercessit, hanc rem tibi communicare consilium fuit: ut, si tu ita vis, mea opera utaris ad id, quod tibi de hac re, tuoque judicio consultissimum esse videatur.—*Epist. Aschami, lib. iii. p. 244.*

This letter hath no date of the year: but it is written from Augusta, that is, I suppose, from Augsburgh, some time after 1550.

C. 1717.

He adopts an old mistake, that Cicero commended Virgil, and said that he was:

*magnæ spes altera Romæ.*

C. 1740. 1742.

Insulting those who rejected all human learning, as unbecoming a divine, he says: Well, then let us trust to inspiration. If we want to write, let the Spirit guide our pen: if we want to preach, let him come to our ear in the figure of a dove.

Habenda erit oratio, tum vero in columbæ figura ad aurem assideat, linguam ipse temperet, nos modo hiscere meminerimus.—

Ex asino theologum repente factum, quis unquam aut audivit aut legit? Nec quicquam his exemplis moveor, quæ vulgo narrant, alii columbam ad aurem dicentis scribentisve conspectam, alii per somnium librum traditum. Sint ista sane vel conciliandæ auctoritatis gratia a benevolis conficta, sint vel vera, si quis pugnet, equidem haud pugno, &c.

He alludes, I believe, to the story of St. Basil, which he hardly credited:

In the fourth century, Ephraim Syrus went to Cæsarea, to visit Basil, and to hear him preach, and saw a dove, white as snow, and bright as the sun, sitting upon Basil's shoulder, and whispering to him what he should say. Remarks on Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 126. first edit.; and vol. ii. p. 58. edit. 1805,

*Epistola ad quosdam impudentissimos Graculos.*

A short and lively epistle against some young monks, who had libelled him, and whom he would not condescend

to confute. They had represented him as a battered old fellow, who was stepping into the grave. He therefore sets the best foot foremost, and boasts of his strength both of body and mind, to mortify them, and damp their hopes of being soon rid of him.

Senex unus quatuor juvenum robustorum sustineo sarcinam: non caligant oculi, gratia Deo, cum multi mirentur jam olim non esse prorsus exoculatum. Conspicillis vitreis nunquam usus sum hactenus, neque interdiu, neque ad lucernam. Scipionem nunquam attingi, firmis pedibus et alacriter ingredior, manus minus tremunt quam ulli juveni, calculus in dies fit mitior, et si moderer studiorum labores, favente Deo, possim adhuc integris sensibus quatuordecim annos vivere. Sed vitæ modus in manu Dei est. Qui mecum vivunt, nec ingenii, nec memoriæ magnam jacturam sentiunt. Et ubi est illud decrepitem ac mox collapsurum silicernium?

*Responsio ad Petri Cursii Defensionem.*

We have already spoken of this reply, which is addressed to Joannes Cholerus.

He gives some account of his Italian friends:

Cum apud Italos agerem, cum eruditis qui supererant non vulgaris mihi amicitia intercessit, Bononiæ cum Paulo Bombasio, cujus ingenio nihil unquam sum expertus candidius, Venetiæ cum Baptista Egnatio, Aldo Manutio, Hieronymo Aleandro, Urbano Regio. Romæ cum Scipione Carteromacho, viro citra omnem ostentationem undecunque docto. Is frequenter in cubiculum meum solet improvisus obrepere, et aliquot horas pomeridianas fabulis literatis fallere. Neque mensa tantum crebro mihi fuit cum illo communis, sed aliquoties eodem lectulo dormivimus. Idem adjunxit mihi Ægidium Viterbiensem, qui post adscitus est in ordinem cardinalium. Cum Petro Phædro, cujus eloquentiam tum Roma pro Cicerone mirabatur, mihi fuit propinqua familiaritas, cum Julio Camillo me nonnunquam eadem junxit culcitra. Cum Francisco Spherula et Philippo Beroaldo juniore mihi fuit amicitia.

He thus describes the ornaments prefixed to the treatise of Cursius:

Porro lusisse eos, qui Cursium in hoc proscenium protruserunt, præter alia multa et illud satis arguit, quod in carmine præfixo hæc habetur sententia, \* *Etiamsi Germana pubes totum ebibat Rhenum, nihilominus tamen staturum Italiæ decus*: quod utrum seditiosius an stultius dictum sit nescias. Adscribunt eidem fulmen. Addiderunt mulierem insidentem septem collibus, mundum manu tenentem, Erasmus dejectum in sterquilinum: nec desunt insignia Pontificis, cui persuaserunt opus esse dicandum.

*Epistola Apologetica de Termino.*

\* Addressed to Alfonsus Valdesius, A. 1528.

*Martini Lydii Apologia pro Erasmo.*

Dedicated, by his son Joannes Lydius, to the magistrates of Rotterdam, A. 1606.

It is a defence of Erasmus, against the accusations of Arianism and of impiety, by a Protestant, who also undertakes to show that Erasmus was a friend to the Reformation, though a timorous one.

*Index Expurgatorius Operum Erasmi.*

Here you may behold Erasmus delivered up into the hands of theological-barber-surgeons; all over bruised, mangled, and deformed, and appearing like *Deiphobus* in Virgil, or like an antique battered *statue*, or like the *traveller* in the Gospel who fell amongst thieves, or like Job upon the dunghill, persecuted by his wife, his friends, and the devil. These inquisitors have not only censured the epistles of Erasmus, but those of his correspondents who had said civil things of him; though most of them lived and died in the church of Rome, and though some of them were zealous Romanists, as More, Warham, &c.

But what wonder is it that Erasmus should have been so used by them? Even the excellent, and (as one would think) the inoffensive book of Grotius *De Jure Belli et*

\* Taken from the Anthologia, edit. Steph. p. 6.

Οὐδ' ἦν Ἄλκιμος πᾶσαν πλημύραν ἐγείρει,  
Οὐδ' ἦν Γερμανίῃ ῥῆγόν ἀπαντα πῆγ, &c.

† The Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 423.

*Pacis* was put amongst the *libri prohibiti*, by those *expurgators*, who took due care first to *purge* their own heads and hearts of all common sense and common honesty, that they might be qualified for their occupation, and *thoroughly furnished to every bad work*.

*Oratio Funeris in Obitum Erasmi, Auctore Guilielmo Insulano.*

Dedicated to the duke of Cleves, by the author, A. 1536. It is well written, and doth honour to Insulanus.

*A Letter of Erasmus to Henry VIII. when he was Duke of York.*

See Knight, p. 71.

*Index Generalis.*

Thus endeth the Edition of Leyden.

S. HIERONYMI *Lucubrationes omnes, una cum pseudepigraphis et alienis admixtis, in novem digestæ Tomos, sed multo quam ante vigilantius per Des. Erasmum Rot. emendatæ, Locis non paucis feliciter correctis, quibusdam etiam locupletatis, duntaxat in Scholiis, &c. Basileæ apud Joan. Frobenium, A. 1526.*

Erasmus, in his epistle to Botzem, projected to have St. Jerom's genuine Epistles, together with his own annotations upon them, published in the collection of his own works, as an additional tome. But this direction was not followed by the editors of the works of Erasmus; and they were much in the right to omit this tome, which would have contained only a part of St. Jerom, namely the three first volumes; and even to this part of Jerom the annotations of Erasmus would have borne only a small proportion.

The four first tomes of Jerom may be considered as the edition of Erasmus: the five following were published by the Amerbachii.

From this edition of Jerom I have selected all the pieces of Erasmus which ought to have found a place in the col-

lection of his works. They may justly be ranked amongst the best of his compositions.

*Hieronymi Vita per Erasmus.*

This is, throughout, an encomium of Jerom, and an apology for him against his censurers, antient and modern. It is a fine portrait, presenting to our view a handsome and a flattering likeness of his favourite father. Erasmus hath exerted on this occasion all his wit and eloquence, in a work which cannot fail to please a sensible reader. We shall insert it in the Appendix, together with his dedications and prefaces; and at present only make a few extracts from his notes upon the works of Jerom.

*Erasmi Annotationes in Hieronymum.*

T. I. p. 20. Ad Nepotian.

He laments the depraved manners of the popes and prelates of his times, but bestows a compliment upon Leo X.

T. I. p. 33. Epitaph. Nepot.

He extols Rodolphus Agricola.

T. I. p. 41. Epitaph. Nepot.

*Abundantius egens exsulat.*

De hoc consulari viro qui fuerit, nihil adhuc comperi.

You may find some account of him in Claudian, *In Eutrop.* i. 154. and in the notes of Claverius and Barthius. Erasmus was also ignorant of the story of that Rufinus, against whom Claudian wrote two books, as it appears from his remarks in this page.

T. I. p. 44. Ad Rusticum.

Erasmus in his notes on this epistle is pretty severe upon modern monkery.

T. I. p. 98. Ad Gerontiam.

He laments the wars between France and England, and exhorts the princes to peace.

T. I. p. 136. Ad Eustochium.

Hic liber quam male tractat malos monachos ac clericos, tam male vicissim ab illis tractatus fuit. Adeo namque mendosum reperimus, ut pro unico vitio exprobrato, decem mendas induxisse videantur.



## T. I. p. 147. Ad Eustoch.

Jerom says that he was scourged by an angel, for being a Ciceronian. Concerning this silly story, see Erasmus, in his notes, p. 154.

## T. I. p. 194.

Erasmus censures those princes and grandees, who think to atone for their crimes by building magnificent churches.

## T. I. p. 257. Vit. Hilarion.

He mentions a monastery, where the nuns were possessed and killed by evil spirits, as a thing of which he himself was a witness, in the days of his youth, whilst he lived with the bishop of Cambray.

## T. I. p. 308. Catal. Script. Eccl.

Cono Norimbergensis (says Erasmus) vir in pervestigandis iis, quæ ad restituendos auctores pertinent, juxta fidelis ac diligens: et omnino dignus, qui diutius vixisset bonis literis; ac diutius vivere poterat, nisi in hoc vitæ genus incidisset, in quo huic studiorum generi non multum honoris haberi solet, quod haud magnopere faciat *πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιστα*.

Beatus Rhenanus says of this Cono, who was a Dominican, that he assisted Amerbachius in correcting the works of Jerom, and that he was *homo propemodum Græce quam Latine doctior, versatus in optimis auctoribus*. Vit. Erasmi.

## T. II. p. 69. Advers. Jovin. 1.

A character of Ludovicus Berus, his particular friend:

Ludovicus Berus, inclytæ Basileæ non tam civis quam ornamentum, ac sui generis, et alioqui cum primis clari, lumen ac decus, theologus insignis, ac vir modis omnibus ejusmodi, ut haud facile sit pronunciare, magisne sit suscipiendus ob egregiam eruditionem, an venerandus ob undique inculpatam vitæ integritatem, an amandus ob incredibilem quandam morum comitatem et consuetudinis jucunditatem.

## T. II. p. 75. 2. Adv. Jovin.

Jerom says:

Ipse adolescentulus (vidi) in Gallia Scottos, gentem Britannicam, humanis vesci carnibus.

See the note of Erasmus, p. 98. Scoti, I think, in Jerom's days, were the Irish. But they have long ago left off feeding upon man's flesh, and had rather eat potatoes.

T. II. p. 121. Adv. Vigilant.

Vigilantius scripsit librum, in quo docebat non esse sic adorandas martyrum reliquias, nec ad horum sepulchra vigilandum. In hunc ita conviciis debacchatur Hieronymus, ut plusculum in eo modestiæ cogar desiderare. Utinam argumentis duntaxat egisset, et a conviciis temperasset, &c.

T. II. p. 134. Ad Damasum.

Hic Hieronymus omnino videtur sentire omnes ecclesias debere subesse Romanæ sedi, aut certe ab hac non alienas, &c.

Rich. Sampson, a friend of Erasmus, wrote a book for the king's supremacy, in 1533. in which he censures this note of Erasmus, and says :

—hoc loco non tam sincere loqui videtur Erasmus, quam in plerisque aliis locis, qui illam *domum* nimis inadvertenter Romanæ ecclesiæ primatum interpretatur. Non enim in illa ætate agnoscebatur hujusmodi primatus.

See Strype's Memor. vol. i. p. 158. and Append. p. 116.

T. II. p. 135. Ad Damasum.

Optat Hieronymus Damaso martyrium. Quid si quis ad eundem modum obtestatus fuisset *Julium secundum*? Quid impetrasset? Crucem, opinor.

T. II. p. 233. Advers. Rufin.

Nota, lector, olim synodos Imperatorum jussu congregari solitas.

T. II. p. 350. Hieron. Augustino.

Taxat Hieronymus stylum Augustini: nec sine causa; siquidem est paulo verbosior, et periodis in immensum productus. Quod illi, ni fallor, hinc accidit, quod nihil vellet omittere eorum quæ scribenti veniebant in mentem: veniebant autem permulta. Itaque utcunque infulciendum erat, quod nolebat abjicere.

Tom. III. p. 11. Hieron. Paulino.

Est Londini apud Anglos theologus quidam, multorum opinione magnus, sua maximus, inter hos qui declamant apud populum, haudquaquam instrenuus, cujus nomen ederem, ni nossem id hominem gloriae famelicum magnopere cupere. Is cum nullas omnino bonas attigerit literas neque quicquam omnino didicerit, præter aliquot Scoticas conclusiunculas, atque id quoque prorsus infeliciter, tamen admirabatur esse quicquam in Hieronymo, quod ab illuminatis theologis non intelligeretur. Cumque in hujus epistolæ mentionem incidissemus, risit homo satis me parare scholia in hoc opus, quod Brito quidam Minorita suis Commentariis tam luculenter explicuisset. Cumque Britonis nomen parum agnoscerem, misertus est inscitiae meæ, qui tantum auctorem non haberem familiarem. Atqui commentariolum illud usque ad id temporis Lyrani esse putaram stolidus. Cœpit efflagitare quidnam illic esset, quod quisquam non intelligeret, modo theologus. Proposui quod tum mihi forte suggerebat memoria de *Jarca* deque *Tantali fonte*. Deum immortalem! ut ille nihil contatus, nodum explicuit, prodigiosa quædam somnia vel ex tempore comminiscens. Proposui nescio quid simile, ille simili dexteritate dissolvit. Admirabar hominis impudentiam. At is se credebat rem facere magno theologo dignam. Nam hæc disputatiuncula inciderat in pandocheo meritorio, et computatiuncula fuit verius quam disputatiuncula. Circumstabant ut fit, auditores illo digni rhetore. Comprobavi quicquid dixisset, siquidem me magnopere delectabat. Quid autem facerem, cum ille stupidior esset, quam ut refelli posset? Denique sublatus homo successu tanto, cœpit ultro admonere, quid ipse observasset in ea epistola Lynceus; nimirum illud in vulgatis codicibus scriptum esse: [*Plato*] *major emente se fuit*; verum id quidem mendose: legendum autem; *majore mente se fuit*. Obstupui ad tam novum acumen, et egi gratias, qui rem tam abstrusam indicasset. Jussit ut hanc quoque annotatiunculam meis adderem scholiis; et recepi facturum. Aliquanto post incidit illi convivium cum aliquot amicis meis, partim claris, partim eruditis, orta que mentione nostri, cum ille jam Erasmi nomen agnosceret, rogatus est quid de me sentiret. Unum hoc verissime respondit, Eras-

num nihil scire. Atqui, inquiebat quispiam, molitur ille nescio quid in opera Hieronymi. Tum ille: Nihil agit, inquit; nam Erasmus est satis bonus Latinista, sed in Hieronymo nihil omnino intelligit. Qui scis? adjecit quispiam. Ipse, inquit, feci periculum. Nuper orta est inter nos disputatio de quadam epistola divi Hieronymi, ac per multa illum docui, sensique hominem in eis rebus nihil omnino sapere. Ridentibus cæteris ac mussantibus, Montjouis meus, ut est citra mordacitatem facetus, et festivus magis quam dicax, respondit illum hoc ægre persuasurum, esse in Hieronymo, quod is intelligeret, non intellectum Erasmo. Dejeravit homo sic habere. Hoc quicquid est voluptatis tibi, lector, visum est impertire, simulque præstare homini quod eram pollicitus.

Ibid. p. 12.

Ex his palam liquet, proprium episcopi munus esse docere populum.—At nunc plerique summas episcopi partes ad vilissimos relegant, ipsi quod est infimum sibi sumunt, litium cognitiones, et censuram rationes. Et ne nihil omnino sacri populo videantur dare, mota manu benedicunt.

T. III. p. 15. Præf. in Pentateuch.

Erasmus ridicules the stupid etymologies of Lyranus, and the cardinal Hugo, here and in many other places.

*Qui sub Hieronymi nomine circumferuntur, librum ad amicum ægrot. de viro perfecto, et de vera circumcissione, Erasmus divinando conjicit esse Tertulliani, sed fallitur: in hoc enim mentio Arianorum; in illo præter Arianos memorantur quoque Auxentius et Ambrosius Mediolanenses episcopi. Sandius Append. ad Nucleum, p. 5.*

*Incomparabilis doctrinæ, trium item linguarum peritissimi viri D. Erasmi Roterodami, in sanctissimorum martyrum Roffensis episcopi, ac Thomæ Mori, jam pridem in Anglia pro Christiana veritate constanter defensa, innocenter passorum, Heroicum Carmen tam elegans quam lectu dignissimum. Adjunctis scholiis, &c.*

*Anno MDXXXVI. Mens. Septemb.*

And at the end:

*Excusum in Imperiali Camera, et Oppido Haganau. per  
Valentinum Kobian: Anno MDXXXVI.*

Dedicated to John, count palatine of the Rhine, &c. by Hieronymus Gebvilerus, who was *Artium liberalium magister, et literariæ pubis Hagnœviensis moderator*, and who wrote the *Scholia*.

He says to the count:

—Præsens Heroicum Carmen a doctissimo Erasmo Roterodamo paucis mensibus (ut rumor est) priusquam mortem obisset, in sanctorum martyrum Roffensis episcopi et Thomæ Mori passionem doctissime lusum, celsitudini tuæ mittendum duxi, &c. Kalendis Septembribus. A. MXXXVI.

This piece, bound up with other tracts in quarto, is in the Museum Britannicum.

This is not the work of Erasmus<sup>n</sup>; he had not health and spirits enough to compose it just before his death; and probably he had not hatred enough of Henry VIII. to insult him and Anne Boleyn so violently as they are insulted in this poem; or bigotry enough, to treat that prince as a most impious wretch, for disregarding the pope.

Yet they did not disgrace Erasmus, considered in the character of a poet, who ascribed this work to him; for the author was a better poet than Erasmus.

He pretends to foretel the tragical death of Anne Boleyn, and that in very plain words:

Hocne tuæ Veneri, Rex o inceste, tropæum  
Erigis, et mollem placari \* sanguine divam  
Posse putas? iras in te convertet acerbas  
Ipsa Venus, vindexque tuos subvertet amores,  
Atque \* aliis iterum atque aliis tua pectora flammis  
Uret, et infamis venient tibi tædia vitæ.  
Tunc memor indignæ cædis, tua noxia facta  
Flebis, et invisâ sumes de pellice pœnas.

<sup>n</sup> It was written by Joannes Secundus. See Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 120.

\* *i. e.* With the blood of More and of Fisher.

\* Alluding to his love, first for Anne Boleyn, and then for Jane Seymour.

Upon which the commentator notes :

*Sumes pœnas*]. Quod præsentî anno (si famæ credendum est) non citra justum Dei judicium evenisse audivimus, jam dicta pellice cum adulteris, seu potius amatoribus, ultimo supplicio affectis.

Anne Boleyn was beheaded May 19, 1536. Erasmus died July 12, 1536, after having been ill for a month, or more. Joannes Secundus also (I think) died, a young man, in this same year.

JULIUS EXCLUSUS.

This work also hath been ascribed to Erasmus, and indeed not without probability. See the Appendix No. LXII.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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